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THE BOSTON TRANSCRIPT

A History of its First Hundred Years

HENRY WORTHINGTON DUTTON

The Boston Transcript

A History of its First Hundred Years

BY
JOSEPH EDGAR CHAMBERLIN

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge
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PREFACE

In the brief review of the first fifty years of its history which the Boston Transcript published on July 24, 1880, Mr. William A. Hovey, then the editor of the paper, said: 'He who undertakes to sketch, even in brief, the history of a daily paper that has reached its golden anniversary, realizes, after collating his materials and consulting the files of bygone years, that a public journal comes in time to have an individuality all its own, a personality almost, and that to tell the story of its birth and growth, of its hopes and mishaps, of its struggles and successes, of its bereavements, of its bearing in great crises, is like telling the personal history of a man who, from small beginnings, has fought his way upward to an honored position.' This is true, and the fact becomes increasingly impressive when the historian has a hundred years of the existence of the same paper to review. But the biographer of a newspaper has a certain advantage which the biographer of an individual scarcely possesses — and it is an advantage which at the same time is a disadvantage, in the sense that it is a greatly added labor, because of the extraordinary and humanly confusing wealth of the material. We speak of a newspaper as the mirror of its time. It is that, but, unlike other mirrors, the image that it has reflected is permanent. In the newspaper files, every detail of the image that the mirror has re-

flected is recoverable. It is all there. We speak, too, of the newspaper as ephemeral. It is only so in its myriad duplications. It is an unbroken line; the years fly, but the days and minutes remain. The newspaper is the eternal Now. Its files are a sensitive plate from which, for so long a time as paper may be preserved, no image fades. Moreover, though materially the paper may be impersonal, in its spirit it is the impress of many personalities. What a world we should recapture if we could make the events and social changes that have been unfolded in these pages through a hundred years grow once more into life!

I cannot hope to work that miracle in the following pages; but I am sure that a record of the hundred years of a paper like the Boston Transcript, which manifestly has honestly sought to serve the best interests of a city such as Boston has been and still is, and such a New England and such a nation as ours, is well worth attempting. The purpose at least of this book is to link the story of the paper, step by step, with the life of the long and deeply significant period through which it has lived.

J. E. C.

Boston, *January* 30, 1930

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THE BOSTON TRANSCRIPT

The Boston Transcript

CHAPTER I

A PRINTER'S BOY FROM THE HILLS

A Start in Life and a Line of Inheritance — Unbroken Succession Through a Hundred Years

THE BOSTON TRANSCRIPT is probably the unique example of an American daily paper which has for a hundred years been under the controlling ownership of a single family. The progenitor of that family, in the Transcript's case, was Henry Worthington Dutton, born in 1796, the son of a widowed mother who lived in Windsor, Massachusetts — a farm township in the Berkshire Hills. The boy was apprenticed by his mother to a printer who, at Pittsfield, in the same county of Berkshire, published the Eagle, a country weekly, small, and of staunch Federalist principles. It was at the end of the War of 1812–15 that Henry Dutton finished his apprenticeship at Pittsfield, and, like Franklin tramping to Philadelphia, walked to Boston, where he went to work as a journeyman printer under Richard Worthington, a cousin, who had attained business prominence as a publisher. Years afterward, on May 5, 1845, Dutton, writing then in conjunction with his partner, James Wentworth, told in a signed statement in the Transcript the story of his business beginnings. Being poor but ambi-

tious young journeymen, but having been able to make a good impression on Mr. Worthington, these two were advised by Worthington (who afterward became the manager of the combined Atlas, Bee, and Traveller) to set up a job-printing office of their own. And Worthington — so Dutton and Wentworth said in the statement referred to — 'knew that neither of these youths was the rightful owner of a dollar; that both were young and inexperienced, strangers in the town and without credit.' Nevertheless, he placed in their hands a hundred dollars, 'to be repaid at pleasure and without interest.'

Henry Dutton and James Wentworth must have been pretty solid boys to inspire this degree of confidence in an older and very responsible man. That they were worthy of the confidence became evident in their success. With the few types that the sum advanced would purchase, and helped out subsequently with occasional loans from other sources, Dutton and Wentworth opened in the year 1825 a small printing office in a loft at No. 4 Exchange Street in Boston, with a hired press. The business that they did was an entirely commercial one. It succeeded so well that in a few months they were able to turn back their hired press and order from Philadelphia a new Ramage hand-press of their own. At that day printing presses were not made in Boston, and an iron press of any kind was a novelty. At the rounce and bar of this humble machine the two young men toiled on for five years, made small profits on their jobs, and paid their debts, including the one hundred dollars advanced by Worthington.

In that time the business had expanded rapidly, and more room had been added to the little establishment in Exchange Street — above, below, to right and left. In 1831, the firm of Dutton and Wentworth obtained the State printing, and were thus embarked, in a way, in 'big business.' Little by little their business grew. They published books and pamphlets, did all kinds of job printing, and even sold tobacco and other articles on the side, as their advertisements from time to time show. This odd Dutton and Wentworth advertisement in the Transcript of February 17, 1847, illustrates the variety of their interests:

IMPERIAL FINE CUT. This day received, 100 ½-pound cans of Warnick & Bryan's Chewing Tobacco — the purest and best article ever offered in this market. Sold by Dutton & Wentworth, Sole Agents for Boston, at Transcript Counting Room, 37 Congress Street.

To this advertisement in a few days the following words were added: 'Gentlemen who use fine-cut are requested to examine this pure article.'

The partnership between Dutton and Wentworth continued, in an amicable and effective manner, until James Wentworth's death, October 14, 1847. Mr. Wentworth, who was born in Boston, February 14, 1794, was the son of Edward Wentworth. He had learned the printer's trade with Russell & Cutler, of the Boston Gazette, and was an excellent printer. Married in 1820, he had six children, three sons and three daughters. His family benefited by their share in the Transcript for some years after his death, but as they had no

active connection with the paper they finally sold out the whole of their interest to Henry W. Dutton, and the paper thus came into his sole possession. For just previous to that time the interest of the Walter family, the heirs of the first editor, Lynde M. Walter, had also been extinguished by purchase by Dutton and Wentworth.

In 1856, Mr. Dutton associated with himself his son, William Henry Dutton, under the firm name of Henry W. Dutton & Son, and in this form the ownership of the paper continued until 1875. In the mean time, the younger Dutton had died, childless, at the age of forty, November 13, 1874; and the father, broken in spirit, followed him, April 15, 1875, at the age of seventy-nine.

Upon this, and under the wills of father and son, the property was put in trust for three years for the benefit of the heirs of Dutton, who at the expiration of that time organized themselves into a stock company, the shares being divided amongst them in proportion to their several ownerships under the wills. There was no change in ownership — only in organization; and there has been no other change since that time, except as the younger generation has followed the older. But as neither the elder nor the younger Dutton left any son, the inheritance was through daughters. The last surviving unmarried daughter, Mary Maria, died in 1901, so that the name of Dutton has disappeared, except as a middle name, from the ownership.

It is of interest, in connection with so unusual a circumstance as the unbroken continuance of such a newspaper ownership, to follow the line of inheritance to the

present day. Henry W. Dutton and his wife, Ann Spear, had seven children: Elizabeth Spear, who died in 1868; Lydia Worthington, who died in 1899; Martha Gilbert, who died in 1900; Ann Edwards, who died in 1918; Julia Wright, who died in 1864; Mary Maria, who died in 1901; and William Henry, who died in 1874. Mrs. Henry W. Dutton also died in 1874. William Henry Dutton's widow, Elizabeth, married, after his death, Jerome Jones. Martha Gilbert Dutton married in 1849 William Tracy Eustis, and had seven children, namely: Eleanor Tracy, who married Frank H. Pattee, and who had a daughter, Eleanor, who, married to Harold Ahlquist, now lives at Rye, New York; Henry Dutton, unmarried, who is now connected with the Transcript; Annie, who died in 1856; Elizabeth Mussey, now living in Brookline; Martha, who married Walter B. Stephenson, and lives at Haverford, Pennsylvania, and had three children, Martha S. Cookman, of Englewood, New Jersey, Helen S. LeBoutillier, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, and George E. Stephenson, of Brookline, now connected in an important business capacity with the Transcript, who has two children, Mary Louise and George, Jr.; J. Tracy Eustis, living but childless; and Miss Mary St. Barbe Eustis, now of Brookline.

Ann Edwards, fourth daughter of Henry W. Dutton, married in 1860 Samuel P. Mandell, a Boston merchant, who from 1875 to his death, February 10, 1920, was the president of the Transcript Corporation. They had two sons, William Dutton and George Snell. William Mandell married Carrie Braman, and has had three

children, Dorothy M. Rackemann, of Boston; Winthrop P. Mandell, of Millis, Massachusetts; and Suzanne M. Gagnebin, of Cohasset. George Snell Mandell married Emily Proctor, and has had four children — Samuel P., killed as an aviator in the Great War; Emma, who is married to Neill Rice; Thomas Proctor, now connected with the Transcript, and James Proctor, who died in 1929 as the result of an accident on the polo field.

This summary by no means exhausts the subject of the connection of the Duttons and their heirs with the Transcript. Points of related interest will appear from time to time as the real story of the journal they helped to found unfolds itself.

CHAPTER II

HOW THE TRANSCRIPT WAS STARTED

The Boston of 1830 — Lynde M. Walter, the Ambitious Young Man who Set the Ball Rolling — A False Start, Soon Redeemed — Help from a Murder Trial.

In 1830, when the first number of the Transcript saw the light, it was a comparatively easy thing to start a daily paper in any considerable town in the country; not so easy to keep it going successfully. In Boston, a city which advanced from a population of 61,392 in 1830 to 93,383 in 1840, there were at different times in this decade fifteen daily papers, and there were twelve at one time. For the most part these were small affairs; the air seemed to quiver with new dailies. Of the fifteen, four are now in existence; the Transcript, the Post, the Traveller, and the Advertiser. Boston was a handy little city, all located between Causeway and Commercial Streets on the north, India and Broad Streets on the east, Eliot and Kneeland Streets — or Hollis at the extreme — on the south, and Charles and Brighton Streets on the west. Its business section was bounded by Winter Street on the south, Hanover and Blackstone on the north, the harbor on the east, and the Common on the west. The city was lighted dimly with oil lamps, and the streets were paved, if paved at all, with cobblestones. Cows were getting scarce on the Common, but they were still pastured there until 1833. Half a dozen good inns there were in Boston; they were led in impor-

tance by the Tremont House, which had just been built (1829) as the result of a public and public-spirited subscription. 'Hourly coaches' ran on Washington Street.

A little city it was — but the harbor was full of ships, and a busy and profitable foreign and domestic trade was gaining rapid ground. There were in the city many men who were passing rich for the time; Peter C. Brooks was said to be possessed of six million dollars. More than that, it was a time when the air teemed with great ideas, and great figures were to be seen on the streets. Young Ralph Waldo Emerson had just come to preach at the Second Church, and William Ellery Channing led the earth's serenest form of liberalism at the Federal Street. Within a year William Lloyd Garrison was starting his nation-shaking Liberator. Webster, in 1830, rocked the country with his reply to Hayne. Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes had all begun to write. It was certainly the very nick of time in which to start a paper like the Transcript.

The paper owed its existence to a conjuncture of the minds of two men. We have already made the acquaintance of one of these men — Dutton, the enterprising young printer. The initial and moving influence in the founding of the paper was undoubtedly that of a young man named Lynde Minshull Walter. He was, on his father's side, of an old and most respectable family of Boston, and he had his given name of Lynde from Chief Justice Benjamin Lynde, whose youngest child Lydia married the Reverend Thomas Walter, of Roxbury,

Lynde M. Walter's great-grandfather. After being prepared for college by Daniel Stamford, then a quite celebrated teacher, Lynde M. Walter was matriculated at Harvard as a sophomore at the age of fifteen, and graduated there in 1816, in the class with George Bancroft, Caleb Cushing, and Samuel A. Eliot. Lynde M. Walter was the son of Lynde Walter, a merchant, who in turn was the son of a Tory divine, the Reverend William Walter, who, as the rector of Trinity Church, had, at the outbreak of the Revolution, stood out boldly for the royalist cause, and had emigrated with many other Boston Loyalists to found the town of Shelburne, in Nova Scotia. Shelburne, under the influence of that emigration, became a sort of second Boston, with a population at one time of 30,000. It is now little more than a village, having less than 5000 people. The elder Lynde Walter, born in Boston in 1767, had been a prosperous merchant in his native city, and in Shelburne he established a shipping and mercantile business which for a time was profitable. He had married in New York the daughter, Ann, of an Englishman, a merchant named Minshull. Their son, the Transcript's founder, Lynde Minshull, was born at Shelburne, June 6, 1799. But he was by no means destined to be a Canadian. With the success of the 'rebels' in 1780, and from other causes, the prosperity of Shelburne declined; the migrant merchant lost most of his business, and in 1800 he went back to Boston and set up a store on Long Wharf. He took his family with him, and young Lynde, his infant son, never knew any other home than Boston. The Reverend

William Walter, by the way, had returned to Boston in 1782, after the peace, and had resumed the rectorship of Trinity, in which post he died in 1800.

At Harvard College Lynde M. Walter made a brilliant record. He gained the reputation of being a particularly good Latinist; he belonged to the Hasty Pudding Club; he took naturally to writing, but it was a considerable time after his graduation before he found the journalistic employment which he seemed to crave. His father, indeed, tried to make a merchant and shipping man out of him, and sent him as a supercargo and buyer to Brazil, where he lived for a time. Returning, homesick, to Boston at the age of twenty-six, he wrote a series of critical articles on plays and books for the Boston Daily Courier and the New England Galaxy under the signature 'T. O.' (which stood for the borrowed honorable name of Thomas Otway), and, living as a man among men, established a large acquaintance. He also delivered a few public addresses on various subjects — very 'literary' in their character.

In 1830 an evening penny paper, the Bulletin, suspended publication, and young Walter saw in this his opportunity, which was to fill the gap with a new penny evening paper and be its editor. Having made the acquaintance, probably through Richard Worthington, of the enterprising young printers, Dutton and Wentworth, he went to them with a proposition to launch, with their aid, such a paper, the printing and circulation of which they were to undertake. They had the sagacity to see that the plan was a good and timely one, but they made

Daily Evening Transcript.

VOL. I. BOSTON, SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1830. No 1.

EVENING TRANSCRIPT

L. H. WALTER, EDITOR.

OFFICE AND WAREHOUSE, No. 7 CONGRESS STREET,

Four doors from Milk street.

TERMS—Three dollars per annum, payable quarterly, or four dollars if not paid within six months from the time of subscribing.

Advertisements inserted at customary prices.

REGULAR PACKETS.

NEW YORK DESPATCH LINE.

Ship Ann, H. Hoxie, Jr. Master
" Packet, H. Godfrey, Jr. "
" Erie, J. Norris "
" Rover, J. Nowe "
" Thomas, Eli Swift "
" Napoleon, Samuel Lapsley "

Sail regularly from the head of Long Wharf every Wednesday and Saturday.

NEW YORK NEW LINE.

Ship Hibernia, C. Baker, Master.
" Europe, S. W. Moore, "
" Virginia, T. Sumner, "
" Alabama, T. Sumner, "
" General Brock, A. Hosmer, "
" Erie, T. Butler, "

Sail regularly from the head of Central and Long Wharves every Wednesday and Saturday.

NEW YORK COMMERCIAL LINE.

Ship Henry, Davis, Master.
" Packet, S. Barker, "
" Rover, S. Barker, "
" Ann, H. Hoxie, "
" John, H. Bailey, "
" Lloyd, J. W. Bailey, "

Sail regularly from the head of Maverick's Wharf every Wednesday and Saturday.

PHILADELPHIA REGULAR LINE.

Brig Pilot, Lincoln, Master
" Active, Allen, "
" Lady, "
" Packet, "
" Hero, "

Sail regularly every week.

PHILADELPHIA UNION LINE.

Ship [illegible] Master.
" [illegible] Wing, "
" [illegible] Brady, "
" [illegible] Hicks, "
" [illegible] Cosby, "

Sail regularly from Central Wharf every week.

BALTIMORE UNION AND DESPATCH LINE.

Ship Maryland, Sturges, Master
" Mary Ann, Stewart, "
" [illegible], Lee, "
" [illegible], Hicks, "
" Patrick, Wilkins, "

Sail regularly from Central Wharf every Saturday.

BALTIMORE REGULAR LINE.

Brig Packet, Hollis, Master.
" Wm. Wallace, Barclay, "
" [illegible], Rose, "
" [illegible], Wise, "
" [illegible], Cook, "
" [illegible], C. C. Beck, "

Sail from Long Wharf every Tuesday.

CHARLESTON REGULAR LINE.

Brig Columbia, Warren, Jr. Master
" Caroline, Stevens, "
" Baltimore, Ryder, "

Sail from the T wharf every month.

ALBANY DESPATCH LINE.

Sch. Tuscan, Cranston, Master
" Richmond, Bailey, "
" Packet, H. F. Swasey, "
Sloop Diamond, Cooley, "

Sail regularly from Long Wharf every week.

HARTFORD REGULAR LINE.

Sch. [illegible], Fraser, Master
" [illegible], Cranston "
" [illegible], Gould "
" [illegible], Wise "

Sail regularly every week from Long Wharf.

DOVER N. H. REGULAR LINE.

Sch. Rising Sun, [illegible], Master.
" Henry Eaton, "
" Wm. Tell, Peirce "
Sloop Hazlett, Young "

Sail from Long Wharf every Saturday.

PORTSMOUTH REGULAR LINE.

Sch. Salem, Snow Town
" Mariner, Young Berry
" Mary, Cranston
" Lovelia, Seaton Parker

Sail regularly from north side of Central wharf

MUSKET, 1,000 do. do. do. [illegible]
RAISINS, 30 mats Malaga, for sale by [illegible]
MUSCAT RAISINS, 50 do. do. do.
SHERRY WINE, 50 casks and quarter casks, for sale by [illegible]
SILLERY CHAMPAGNE, 50 cases [illegible]
HAVANA CIGARS, 100 boxes [illegible]
VARNISH, 50 casks [illegible]
STARCH, 50 bbls. Philadelphia, for sale by STANTON & NICHOLS, 19 Central wharf.
WHEAT MIDDLINGS, 300 tons Genesee, for sale by [illegible]
RHENISH WINE, 40 casks and cases [illegible]
IMITATION ST. CROIX, 8 puncheons [illegible]
SALT, 1000 bushels, Turks Island and Liverpool, for sale by [illegible]
CASSIA, 50 boxes [illegible]
TEAS, NANKINS, SUGAR, CASSIA, for sale by THEODORE D. [illegible]
ST. DOMINGO COFFEE, 15 bags [illegible]
TOBACCO, 50 kegs Richmond, for sale by ROBINSON, TYSON & CO 20 Long wharf.
PICO WINE, superior old brand quarter casks, for sale by A. & C. LANNING 19 N. Market street.
SHORT WIVE, in pipes and quarter pipes, for sale by LUDNIGGE & NICHOLSON 13 Commercial wharf.
SUMMAC MILL, 300 gallons prime, for sale by [illegible]
EXCHANGE ON LONDON, [illegible]
CASTILE SOAP, [illegible]
GUM ARABIC, [illegible]
RACKED OIL, [illegible]
SULPHATE OF QUININE, [illegible]
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RUSSIA DUCK, [illegible]
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SPERM CANDLES, [illegible]
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CHAIN CABLES, [illegible]
CHURCH BELLS, [illegible]
GENESEE FLOUR, [illegible]
CRANE, [illegible]
SUGAR, [illegible]
PORT WINE, [illegible]
VARNISH, [illegible]
PRUNES, [illegible]
CHAIN CABLES, [illegible]
PRUNES, [illegible]
BRIG [illegible]
SALT, [illegible]
BRIG [illegible]
SALT, [illegible]
BRIG [illegible]
SALT, [illegible]
PORK, [illegible]
MOLASSES, [illegible]
PIPE STAVES, [illegible]
HAMS, [illegible]
COALS, [illegible]
TOBACCO, [illegible]
SPERM OIL, [illegible]
SPERM CANDLES, [illegible]
NEUFRA SKINS, 10,000 prime, for sale by [illegible]
DRY COD FISH, 400 tons [illegible]
SUGAR, [illegible]
WHALE BONE, [illegible]
PORT WINE, [illegible]
VARNISH, [illegible]
PRUNES, [illegible]
CHAIN CABLES, [illegible]
PRUNES, [illegible]
BRIG [illegible]
SALT, [illegible]
BRIG [illegible]
SALT, [illegible]
BRIG [illegible]
SALT, [illegible]
PORK, [illegible]
MOLASSES, [illegible]
PIPE STAVES, [illegible]
HAMS, [illegible]
COALS, [illegible]
TOBACCO, [illegible]
SPERM OIL, [illegible]
SPERM CANDLES, [illegible]

THE FIRST PAGE OF THE FIRST NUMBER

Walter pay the cost of issuing the first and experimental numbers.

The first number appeared on July 24, 1830. It was a paper smaller in size than the other dailies then existing. The size was regarded as fundamental — a distinction and an attraction which the editor proposed never to relinquish. Snug, well printed, spicy but clean, and with an eye all about — that was Walter's ideal of a newspaper. And to be buttressed in the Church; for Walter, like his father and grandfather before him, was a sound Episcopalian. He announced the fact, in that engaging first number of July 24, 1830, in his Salutatory, which was as follows:

This Paper will be published Daily in the Evening, with the hope of supplying a deficiency created by the surcease of the Bulletin. We bring to our work a poor talent, which we shall make subservient to our industry. We shall not mingle in the every-day warfare of politics, nor attempt to control public bias, in abstract questions of Religion or Morality; our predilections are so firmly established, that we do not believe them susceptible of much change or modification; but whilst we preserve the right of expressing our own opinions, we shall not combat with the prejudices of others.

Our Political creed is soon written. — We believe that Duties imposed upon Imports, for the protection of domestic industry, are necessary and constitutional; that Congress has power to appropriate the public funds to works of internal improvement; — that the Bank of the United States is expedient to the preservation of a wholesome currency, and is warranted by the Constitution; — that the union of these States was decreed by the whole people, — will be maintained by the whole people, — and cannot be dissolved but by the will of a majority of the whole people voting each for himself, either personally or by special delegation.

As to our Religion, we belong to the sect called Protestant Episcopalian; we feel that our opinions are liberal; we hope that our tenets are orthodox. Upon both subjects, we shall endeavor to preserve that honest neutrality which, whilst it never attacks, is always ready to act upon the defensive. Our experiment is a bold one; success does not rest with ourselves. We shall openly seek patronage, but will not cringingly court it. We desire to be just, ingenuous and manly. We will not be the slaves of popular caprice, nor the dependent hirelings of party favor. Our thoughts are our own, and we shall boldly express them. It will sometimes be our misfortune to offend; but we shall be studiously observant of our phraseology and especially cautious that the offence is in the opinion and not in the terms of its conveyance. We hope to be permitted to 'pursue the noiseless tenor of our way,' without engendering hate, or inducing acrimony. Personal attack is unworthy of notice; — captious acerbity beneath it.

We are aware that it is not now the mode to appear in such stinted robes as we have adopted; but we have chosen to set fashion at defiance, and study our own convenience. We therefore beseech the Reader to judge us impartially; — not by the size of the casket, but by the value of its contents.

Having prefixed the necessary preface, and apprised the public of our religious and political opinions, we offer no apology for curtailing a tedious prologue.

The religious denomination of leading social importance in Boston at the time was the Unitarian, and the ambitious young editor, though he made his Episcopalian connection so prominent, could not overlook that fact. From the very beginning there was actually more about the Unitarians in the Transcript than there was about the Episcopalians. This very first number had an eloquent tribute to William Ellery Channing. 'He is,' the article says, 'the property of all sects, the exclusive

possession of none. He has given strength to our literature and a moral grandeur to our political institutions.' And Dutton and Wentworth, who from the first and always advertised their printing business in the paper, announced in this initial number that they had 'Dr. Channing's election sermon for sale.'

This first number of the Transcript is a miniature of the Boston of 1830. It was full of advertisements. Since it was a first number, and admittedly experimental, it may be surmised that most of these advertisements were carried from other papers without money and without price. The advertisements epitomized the time. Many 'regular packets' — sailing ships making stated trips — are leaving for England, for New York (three regular lines), Philadelphia (two lines), Baltimore, Charleston, Albany, Hartford, and Portsmouth and Dover Hill, New Hampshire. But there is one steamboat, and one only; the Ousatonic, running — to Nahant! The sailing of ships for Calcutta, Matanzas, and the East Indies, is announced. Little advertisements of cloths, wines, rum, flour, sugar, molasses, tobacco, wool, cotton, leather, whale oil, tinware, Calcutta silks, Missouri shot in casks, cover the first page in a dense battalion. A busy little trading town, much concerned with its eating and drinking, is reflected in these advertisements. Also a town intent upon other pleasures. The Federal Street Theatre advertises the play 'The Cataract of the Ganges,' and at the Tremont, a house, then new, which stood where the Tremont Temple now is, and which was the leading theatre, Richard Russell an-

nounces a summer suspension of the performances for redecorating. (The theatre was reopened September 6 with 'The Soldier's Daughter.')

But here are also terrible things of the time; the very first number of the Transcript complains in its editorial column of the depredations of 'a combination of young men, minors and apprentices in respectable mercantile establishments,' who, it says, 'have been for a long time plundering their employers of goods and money and committing various other offences.' And the bad conduct of these young men is attributed to 'the third row of the theatres.' The Transcript calls loudly for the entire closing of these 'third rows,' unless their 'pestilential atmosphere be thoroughly purified.' There must be 'no private entrances to the green boxes,' says the article; 'let those who will enter in pass boldly through the body 'of the house.' There is contemporary testimony — much of it appearing in subsequent issues of the Transcript — that the theatres of that period derived much of their revenue from the retailing of liquor from a bar to persons in the boxes, and that a certain portion of the house was assigned to female patrons of known bad character. It is no wonder that the Transcript, which had an ethical purpose, saw fit to complain. In this first number other sources of the corruption of the youth of the period are stated to be 'public stables and barrooms, billiard tables and bowling alleys.' Whatever the cause, the result was serious. The paper alleged that gangs of rowdy youths ravaged the Common at night, uprooting young trees that were being planted there and terrorizing passers-by.

Yet everything sought to be 'genteel' then! The Transcript advertises, to let, a dwelling-house on the corner of Hanover and Portland streets, 'suitable for a large family or genteel boarding-house.' There was also a 'genteel brick house' to let in Allen Street, 'now occupied by Rev. Dr. Sharp' — three stories, with 'every convenience for a genteel family.' But the genteelest indication in the paper, next to an announcement of a book entitled 'Discourses on Cold and Warm Baths, with Remarks on the Effects of Drinking Cold Water in Warm Weather,' by John G. Coffin, M.D., is an advertisement of 'The Art of Tying the Cravat, Demonstrated in Sixteen Lessons, Including Thirty-two Different Styles,' by H. Le Blanc, Esqr., who seems to have been a recent and genteel arrival from France. This book was advertised as for sale by Carter & Hendee, the principal booksellers of the day, at the 'Old Corner.'

For the two days following the first number, the Transcript found itself in some trouble. The town did not immediately respond to the opportunity which the neat little paper presented. The editor complained, in an article printed in italics, that the weekly Commentator was the only paper that had noticed the first number. 'This studied silence,' he said, 'is not easily misconstrued. Printers and publishers have combined to put down this paper. Had we not been used to the cold bath from infancy this dash of water would have chilled us to the bone. As it is, it has served only to invigorate.'

In the third number Mr. Walter announced that pub-

lication would be suspended for a time. The editor explained that in launching the paper he had had no opportunity to ascertain the probable extent of the patronage that might be afforded, and he now announced that he should rest from his editorial labors until he had canvassed the city and determined what his real chances might be. He seems to have made use of his time in the ensuing month to good advantage, for on August 28 the paper resumed publication for good and all — or at least for the comfortable unbroken century that has intervened.

But that August 28th issue was a strange one. The entire paper, without a line of advertising or anything else, was devoted to the publication of the speech of Daniel Webster, as the principal counsel for the prosecution in the trial of one John Francis Knapp for the murder of Captain Joseph White at Salem. This was a very famous case of the time. All Massachusetts was divided in opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the brothers Knapp, who were indicted for the crime. The two were convicted — Joseph Knapp in the following November. John Francis was executed at Salem, September 28, and Joseph in December. Both died protesting their innocence. Five thousand persons witnessed the execution of John Francis; and the Salem Register having said that 'several hundred of the spectators were females,' the Transcript earnestly deprecated the fact as an evidence of the degeneracy of the times. Thousands of handbills asserting the innocence of Knapp were circulated among the crowd. Within a few days

after the conviction, the Transcript felt itself bound to publish also Franklin Dexter's plea, at the trial, for the defense. There was great pressure on the Governor and Council for a commutation of the Knapps' sentence, but they declined to grant it. Many citizens believed that the Knapps were the victims of false accusations. They publicly pronounced the convictions 'beyond the evidence and against the law.' The Transcript defended the convictions.

The Transcript, so to speak, was born to centenaries. When the paper made its definite and unbroken appearance on August 28, 1830, the city was in the throes of preparation for the celebration of its two hundredth anniversary, and the issues of September 18, 20, and 21 were full of this great affair, which took place on the 17th. The event was observed with a tremendous procession and with ceremonies and services in various halls and churches; especially with an oration and an ode before a brilliant assembly at the Old South Church — the oration by the Honorable Josiah Quincy, first mayor of Boston and then president of Harvard University, and the ode by Charles Sprague, the 'banker poet.' There was a grand banquet in Faneuil Hall, at which one of the toasts drunk was that proposed by Editor Walter of the Transcript to Charles Sprague, 'whose proudest boast,' Mr. Walter said, 'is that he was educated at a free school and is a workingman's son.' The Sprague ode was noteworthy. It included the noblest plea for the Red Man ever written in verse. In his long effort, Sprague ventured this wondering glance toward the moment which

this book, and the tercentenary celebration of 1930, signalize:

> This be our story, then, in that far day
> When others come their kindred debt to pay.
> In that far day? — O, what shall be
> In this dominion of the free,
> When we and ours have rendered up our trust,
> And men unborn shall tread above our dust?
> O, what shall be? — He, He alone,
> The dread response shall make
> Who sitteth on the only throne
> That time shall never shake;
> Before whose all-beholding eyes
> Ages sweep on, and empires sink and rise.

Another poem of the day, which was printed in the Transcript, was the hymn by the Reverend John Pierpont, sung by a choir and by the multitude at the Old South Meeting House. Here are two of its stanzas:

> Gone are the great and good,
> Who here, in peril stood,
> And raised their hymn;
> Peace to the reverend dead!
> The light, that on their head
> Two hundred years have shed,
> Shall ne'er grow dim.
>
> Ye temples, that to God
> Rise where our fathers trod,
> Guard well your trust —
> The faith, that dared the sea,
> The truth, that made them free;
> Their cherished purity,
> Their garnered dust!

Perhaps we may hope that the poetry of 1930 does as well as this.

Mayor Harrison Gray Otis's remarkable bicentennial address, delivered before the City Council, was printed in full in the Transcript, although to accomplish this the document had to be printed solid, in pearl type so small as to be unreadable without a magnifying glass.

A strange incident of the celebration was the publication in the Transcript of a letter which the Honorable William Sullivan, chief marshal of the parade, wrote and addressed to the chief marshal of the parade which, he presumed, would take place in Boston on September 17, 1930. Mr. Sullivan, who was of the distinguished Colonial family of that name, enclosed this address, together with the truncheon which he bore in the parade, in a roll of parchment. Sealing this securely, he directed it in the following manner:

The Chief Marshal of the
Centennial Celebration, 17th September, 1830.
To the Chief Marshal
of the 17th September, 1930.

The package was delivered to the mayor, and it has been religiously preserved by him and his successors, to be handed over to the authorities of the 1930 celebration. As published in the Transcript, the address is a rather commonplace expression of the hope that the celebrators of the tercentenary may be as worthy a lot of men as those of the bicentenary, and that the mace or truncheon may be used in the presence of 'a population as delightful to look upon and as self-respectful and decorous in beholding.' The document shows that Mr.

Sullivan could imagine nothing better for 1930 than that which he beheld in 1830. His enterprise in getting his entire message before the public in 1830 also indicates that he had his contemporaries chiefly in mind. He was, by the way, a candidate for mayor at the next election, and was defeated. He died in 1839.

The little paper now went quite smoothly on its daily way. It had made a well-recognized hit with the public by publishing the Webster speech. In its columns now there was very little local news except in certain spurts, as in the case of sensational speeches and murders. Newspapers at that time assumed that the people knew from actual observation whatever of a casual nature was happening in the town; except for local great crimes and sensational political events, what they wanted to know, it was supposed, was what occurring in the outside world. This news was for the most part obtained from the columns of outside papers, foreign and domestic. Nevertheless certain original items of news published in the paper have significance for coming generations. The Transcript of October 12, 1830, published this paragraph of — then — merely newspaper gossip, which is of lasting interest:

> John G. Whittier, Esqr., the talented and industrious editor of the Hartford Review, has become the permanent editor of that valuable journal; Mr. Prentice, the late indefatigable editor, having established a daily paper at Louisville, Ky.

Distinguished but widely separated paths were subsequently followed by the industrious John G. Whittier

and the indefatigable George D. Prentice, the hard-working mates of the Hartford Review.

One feature of the local news was cultivated then as carefully as now. It was the arrival and departure of ships. This news was diligently collected by Samuel Topliff's agency — a real news-room, which for more than fifteen years had been maintained by Topliff. 'Topliff's' was at this time, and for some years afterward, located under the Old State House, then serving as the City Hall. Not only were all the principal papers of London, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other cities there on file, and to be read by subscribers to the service paying ten dollars a year, but marine arrivals and departures and other ship movements were always posted. Topliff had correspondents everywhere who reported certain items of the general news to him. He was the first 'Associated Press,' and the local papers were content to derive most of their information from him. He sold out in 1846, after the papers had begun to publish telegrams and had greatly developed their own news service. Topliff made a comfortable fortune out of this useful business, and earned it.

The curious attitude of the papers of that day toward the news is instanced by an announcement of the Transcript, on February 18, 1831, that it has copies of the correspondence between President Jackson and John C. Calhoun, on the then highly interesting subject of South Carolina's nullification act; that it 'does not propose to publish it, but if any subscribers wish to come in and read the letters they can come in and do so!'

The sort of headway that the paper made during the remainder of the year 1830 is indicated in an editorial announcement of February 25, 1831. 'When we issued the first numbers of the Transcript,' the editor said, 'we indulged little hope of success. We had issued no proposals — circulated no subscription paper; the first number was printed and issued before twenty persons had the least knowledge of our intentions; even our personal and most intimate friends were, until then, ignorant of our designs; but a second and third number of the paper succeeded the first, and they immediately rallied around us, and gave the little pamphlet an honest and timely support. Since then, our patronage has been constant and increasing; we have called it a dull day that passed without our receiving at least two subscriptions, and for the last six weeks the average increase of our subscription list has exceeded four persons daily. We already issue more than 700 daily papers, and are just commencing the second half-year only of our existence.'

The Transcript was indeed very welcome to the conservative classes as a reaction from the 'black journalism' of the time. Most of the papers had been filled not only with vulgarity, but with abuse, misrepresentation, and vituperation. Some of the Boston papers devoted much space to the warfare of rioting between the North-Enders and the 'Charlestown Pigs.' Rival editors were accustomed to call each other liars and cowards. None of this sort of stuff appeared in the Transcript, though some of its remarks about its contemporaries did have an occasional saucy turn. Before it had

been in existence a year, the Transcript had overcome all prejudice against it and had become popular.

Young Walter clearly developed the qualities of a successful editor. Well born, well educated, well dressed, and a man about town, he became a prominent figure in the community. He was elected to the Legislature on the Whig ticket in 1835 — a real honor at the time, when the solidest and most highly esteemed citizens were often chosen as senators or representatives in that body. He served, however, only one term, finding his editorial duties more congenial and also because they were now quite exacting. The Transcript distinctly announced, on many occasions, that it was not a political paper, but its sympathies in a general way with the Whig Party were not concealed. Walter himself was active personally in politics on the Whig side. It is worthy of note, as a sign of the times, that, of the sixty representatives whom Boston sent to the Legislature in 1836, eight were newspaper editors. These were Russell, of the Columbian Centinel; Minns, Palladium; Buckingham, Courier; Davis, Patriot; Child, Journal; Wright, Chronicle; Adams, Centinel and Palladium, and Walter.

CHAPTER III

FOUNDING THE CULTURE TRADITION

The Æsthetic Boston of the Thirties — Theatres, Music, and Literature — How the Transcript Got its Name — A Wave of Reform

The paper very early developed its cultural slant. Mr. Walter was greatly interested in musical and dramatic matters, and commented freely, sometimes caustically, on the shows of the period. Some of the dramatic performances were certainly good. Charles Kean, Forrest, Macready, even J. Sheridan Knowles, and later James H. Hackett and Charlotte Cushman, appeared at the Boston theatres, generally at the Tremont Theatre. At Edwin Forrest's very first appearance there, the Transcript seems to have correctly appraised him, by saying (September 28, 1831): 'His reputation is not founded on a durable basis. He is too much of an athlete and not enough of an actor. His powers are peculiarly physical and little adorned with mental cultivation.' But Mr. Walter's musical judgment does not seem to have been equal to his dramatic perspicacity. In 1830, he rejoiced in the replacement of Ostinelli as the conductor of the orchestra at the Tremont Theatre by a gentleman named Comer. Ostinelli was a musician of culture and discrimination. But the Transcript said after his dismissal: 'We have now the gratification of occasionally hearing intelligible music; something that comes down to the level of our understanding, and creates pleasant

impressions without any wild and erratic attempts at astonishment. This was the great fault with Ostinelli; his object seemed to be less to please the public than to please himself.' The theatre, Mr. Walter said, was a place for popular amusement; the director 'should remember that he does not play to an assembly of musical dilettanti.' Mr. Comer hit the public taste better. But the Transcript was very kind to Mr. Ostinelli, and his wife — a singer — in their subsequent appearances in concerts before these same 'dilettanti,' who were plainly increasing in number in Boston. The city had opera in the thirties — 'Masaniello,' 'La Sonnambula,' etc. — and many excellent concerts by the Handel and Haydn Society and also by that interesting organization that flourished for a couple of decades, the Billings and Holden Society, whose function was to preserve and give a hearing to the old New England psalmody.

In the field of painting and sculpture, Boston was then dependent on the chance exhibitions given at the Boston Athenæum, then located in Pearl Street. Washington Allston was the artistic hero of the day. European masterpieces, loaned by rich merchants, occasionally strayed into the small public exhibitions.

In 1831 the Tremont Theatre was being redecorated quite elaborately with frescoes from scenes in Shakespeare's plays. The Transcript, having said one day that the taste of these embellishments was 'exceedingly bad,' found occasion next day to remark: 'The man who was employed to daub the interior of the Tremont Theatre is exceedingly angry with us because we cannot discover

that the series of "historical paintings" ornamenting the panels on the second row of boxes are illustrations of the Magdalen Report.' The attack developed a lively controversy, and the decorations were earnestly defended by two or three correspondents. For some time it was evident that the editor had seriously fallen out with the Tremont Theatre management, for during this time all mention or advertisement of the theatre ceased — to be resumed some months afterwards on what appeared to be sufficiently cordial terms. Yet even before this there had been no mention in the paper of the season of performances by Charles Kean at the Tremont in November, 1830.

Literary criticism was a frequent feature of the early Transcript. There were plain 'puffs' which at least appeared to have a certain reference to the bookstore advertisements. There were also 'roasts'; of a volume of poems by 'the late James William Miller,' the Transcript said, September 24, 1830, 'It is a libel on Boston publishers. It is fit only for a second-hand bookseller's stall.'

The paper was not above an occasional reflection on the clergy. October 31, 1830, it complained that 'many of our clergy by their cold, repulsive manners and their infrequent visits to the members of their congregations, have caused themselves to be less loved than they ought to be.' No names. There was, by the way, no mention of the name of Ralph Waldo Emerson through the period of his charge of the Second Church, nor until he began to lecture before the Lyceum in 1837.

As the Transcript, in 1830–31, was gaining in reputation for originality of utterance, some curiosity seems to have arisen as to why it was called 'The Transcript.' A 'female subscriber' (so announced) wrote in to ask this question. The answer may be good for the present period — for the question is still asked, and there are many 'Transcripts' around the country. The editor said:

> The name Transcript was considered by many as highly objectionable. It was the first name, not already in use, that arose in our memory as a good and suitable name for a daily paper. We adopted it for its novelty and peculiarity, and we maintain it because it has become familiar and seems less objectionable the oftener we read, write or hear it. It is objected that 'transcript' means a copy from an original, and is therefore inappropriate to any paper that professes to have an editorial department. There is but one answer to this objection — to us, of course, a sufficient one. Transcript is a copy from an original; now what matters it whether that original exists in material type or in an immaterial idea; whether the Transcript is a copy of that which already exists in print, or that which lives in our imagination and is visible only through our mind's eye; it is still a copy — a transcript of our own thoughts or the thoughts of others.

In spite of his academic education and tastes, Mr. Walter not infrequently stood out for 'the people' as against the highbrows. Lectures were very common in Boston. Much press attention was paid them. But when Nuttall, the eminent professor of natural history, lectured on botany, the Transcript criticised his lecture as 'too high-toned, too scientifically detailed, and therefore almost unintelligible to such as never

before heard of petals, anthers, or the like paraphernalia of a flower.'

Mr. Walter was sometimes not too gallant in his references to the 'females,' as women were invariably called in print, at that time. In December, 1830, the Transcript demands that one half of the seats at the Park Street Church for Dr. Lyman Beecher's Sunday evening lectures be reserved for gentlemen only, 'on account of the fact that, if females are admitted to seats in all parts of the house, every gentleman will feel himself bound to surrender his place to any female who may present herself,' with the result that 'large numbers of men are routed and turned out, the females having nothing but leisure.' Equal rights for males were therefore already becoming an issue.

Editor Walter showed courage and spirit in advocating persistently certain public reforms, among which was the abolition of imprisonment for debt. Eighteen persons had been imprisoned for debt in Boston in the year 1830. April 13, 1831, a girl of sixteen was cast into the Suffolk jail on a mesne process, for the unpaid bill of a physician in Boston. The Transcript noted the circumstances in indignant terms. The result was that the girl was liberated the next day, and the physician explained that the imprisonment was inflicted without his knowledge by a bill collector. At about the same time, a Revolutionary soldier, eighty years old, was imprisoned for a debt of $11. The publication of the details of such cases led to the abolition of imprisonment for debt within a few years; but the Transcript, which was

instrumental in the reform, had to return to the subject in the mean time with considerable frequency. On March 14, 1831, the Transcript published an article which was certainly remarkable for the times. It expressed hearty sympathy with a movement to shorten workingmen's hours. Eleven hours a day, it said, were too much for hard labor. It advocated a ten-hour day, and said that even if the working day were reduced to eight hours 'there would be no deficiency of any article.' How many years passed before the general sentiment of the community caught up with this view of the young editor! In March, 1832, the Transcript noted that the average hours of employment of children in factories were thirteen and a half to fourteen hours a day, 'plus twenty to twenty-five minutes for the difference between the factory and the solar time.' Against this imposition it protested earnestly, denouncing the trick of starting the mills by one time system and stopping it by another and slower.

The Transcript also showed its enlightenment by persistently favoring the bill which was passed by the Legislature in 1831 to permit the turning over of the unclaimed bodies of paupers for dissection purposes — a measure which had been urged by Dr. John C. Warren and many other physicians. Up to that time the medical schools had depended chiefly upon body-snatching for the demonstrations which the progress of medical science absolutely demanded.

As will presently be shown more in detail, in a separate chapter, the paper, with its earliest words, opposed

human slavery, and welcomed the first appearance of Garrison's Liberator in 1831; though the subsequent extreme utterances of the abolitionists of the Garrison school led the editor by and by to denounce the propaganda of militant anti-slavery leaders as doing more harm than good to the cause. The Transcript also, as we shall presently show, was very earnest in defense of the incoming Irish immigrants, who were constantly made the victims of intolerant attack.

Though the tone of the paper in matters of public taste and morality was distinctly in advance of the average of newspaper expression at the time, it is undeniable that its items and comment often impinged upon matters which are not now regarded as open to discussion. Mr. Walter was a bachelor all his life. He was occasionally rallied upon that condition by other Boston editors, and replied in a bantering spirit. One day the Transcript published an article on the high cost of living. Next day the Atlas intimated that the reason why the editor of the Transcript was a bachelor was, as evidenced by this article, that the cost of rent and supplies precluded his marriage. Mr. Walter responded to his 'friend Tom' of the Atlas that this was not at all the case. He said that the great increase in the number of subscribers to and advertisements in the Transcript fully justified him in taking a wife, and that the reason why he remained in a state of single blessedness was simply that he preferred it. On another occasion he published an article complaining of the inconvenience of shaving on a cold morning. The editor of the United

LYNDE M. WALTER AS A BOY
First Editor of the Transcript

MRS. WILLIAM B. RICHARDS
(Cornelia Wells Walter), Second Editor

States Gazette of Philadelphia thereupon remarked that the editor of the Transcript was a bachelor, and advised him to 'get a wife who would make things comfortable for him.' Mr. Walter replied: 'We have been thinking of changing our condition, but have decided not to tamper with it this winter.' The reason for this possible decision he cryptically attributed to 'the current prevalence of conflagrations in Boston.' At that period, the banns of persons proposing marriage were still given out at the regular Thursday lectures in the churches; and the Transcript, in 1833, said that these lectures were considerably attended, the reason being that 'the audiences chiefly consist of ladies of a certain age who have been unfortunate in the current of their love.' One observes that the Thursday lectures were soon afterward abandoned. Mr. Walter was quite consistently a severe critic of feminine manners. In a paragraph he complains of a fashion of the time of 'young ladies walking with their hands crossed before them and resting awkwardly on their bodies.' He says that 'this mere fashion, without show of reason, gives them a graceless air of Connecticut yoked geese.' We may now regret that details of the assumed Connecticut practice of yoking geese are omitted. Mr. Walter deplored the extreme modernness of life in Boston in the eighteen-thirties. This, from a Transcript of June 30, 1836, gives us material for thought:

> We have no old men now. No old mansions now. All are young. All are new. We are all young men now. Nobody wears a wig, nor a cocked hat, nor powder, nor small-clothes

and silk stockings and buckles, nor white-topped boots, nor a queue, nor a gold-headed cane. We have changed all that. The 'Gentlemen of the Old School,' those patterns of manly elegance, are fast passing away. Habits, customs, marriage, men, all have changed. A bustling multitude supplies the place of a social family; and what was once a town, needing no annual directory, is now a miniature world, a mighty city, where we have to ask, who is my neighbor?

The population of the 'mighty city' (in 1835) had just been recorded as 78,603!

The paper which Mr. Walter edited was certainly very small — each of its four pages of print being only eight and one half inches wide by thirteen and one eighth in length, and the greater part of the space was taken up with advertisements. But when an editor could compress a dramatic criticism into the space of the following, from a Transcript of November 14, 1833, and say so much in the space, it is apparent that no great amount of room was needful to make a readable paper. The notice refers to a piece in which Edwin Forrest was appearing, and about which Mr. Walter wrote this and no more:

'The Ancient Briton,' a new and bloody tragedy by the author of 'Metamora,' was brought out for the first time at the Tremont Theatre last evening. It has been played once too often.

Next night this play was taken off and 'Damon and Pythias' substituted — of the performance of which the Transcript said nothing at all. In the next week there was something worth while at the Tremont. Hackett was playing Falstaff; he was an actor of whom it has

been said that 'Hackett was Falstaff and Falstaff was Hackett.' In praising Hackett, as he did, and condemning Forrest, the editor showed the keenest kind of dramatic acumen, however deficient his musical sense may have been.

At that time even an editor's style of wearing his beard was considered a legitimate matter of comment by his contemporaries. October 29, 1838, the Post has this paragraph: 'Hold up your head, Lynde; you and I have the prettiest whiskers in town.' Walter responded in the Transcript: 'We have only a word to say about the color of whiskers. There *was* a time when we thought it an act of real moral courage to wear *red*, but since ours have assumed a *brown* color we do not think much of the carrot hue.'

The greater part of these personal allusions, which occasionally found their way into the Transcript, were in the nature of banter, but it is evident that the editors of that day had their feuds. The Transcript commented sarcastically on the transfer of a certain journalist called Jo Haynes from the Atlas newspaper to the Journal. Next day the Journal said: 'Even the little ladies' Transcript must aim its sword of lath at our hearts.' Walter retaliated: 'The author of "Archy Moore" and other inflammatory productions to which he has not the moral courage to affix his name is no longer a writer for the Atlas. His connection with that paper, which was never more than that of a hired penman, is dissolved. He was yesterday morning paid off and discharged. His corpse is to be found in the Journal office.'

Now and then, though so little local news was published, the Transcript had a really fine piece of reporting. Note this account (September 25, 1837) of a sermon by Father Taylor, the missionary to the sailors:

> We happened last Sunday afternoon to be at the Bethel in North Square. The house was running over with seamen, who filled the body of the house, the stairs of the pulpit and even the pulpit itself. The preacher, Father Taylor, spoke: 'I say, shipmates, now look me full in the face. What should you say of the man aboard ship who was always talking about his compass and never using it? What should you think of the man who, when the storm is gathering, night at hand, moon and stars shut out, on a lee shore, breakers ahead, then first begins to remember his compass, and says, "Oh, what a nice compass I have got on board," if before that time he has never looked at it? Where is it that you keep your compass? Do you stow it away in the hold, do you clap it into the forepeak?' (By this time Jack's face, that unerring index of his soul, showed visibly that the word had begun to tell.) 'Now, brethren, listen to me; believe not what the scoffer and the infidel say. The Bible is the compass of life. Keep it always at hand. Steadily, steadily, fix your eye on it. Study your bearing by it. Make yourself acquainted with all its points. It will serve you in calm, in storm, in the brightness of noonday and amidst the blackness of night; it will carry you over every sea, in every clime, and navigate you, at last, into the harbor of eternal rest.'

This, however, was the day when the thing was news which the editor wanted to be news, and when he exercised his full discretion about what he printed. The Transcript explained, January 29, 1838, that the reason why it had not published a resolution adopted by a meeting in Faneuil Hall against the annexation of Texas was that it disapproved of the terms of the resolution.

The resolution had used the expression, 'adopted by the people of Boston in Faneuil Hall assembled,' which gave the impression that the meeting had been convened by official authority and was of the nature of a town meeting.

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Mr. Walter all along kept his eye on old Harvard. It does not appear to have been always a friendly eye. He sympathized heartily with the 'students' rebellion' in 1834. In its account of Commencement Day, in August, 1838, the Transcript says:

> The exercises were highly honorable to old Harvard, and there was perceptible improvement of the style of oratory, which has not, in past years, been remarkable for its excellence. Specific praise is somewhat invidious on such occasions; but we hope we may be pardoned the mention, as particularly deserving of the applause they received, of the English oration by Frederick Augustus Eustis of South Carolina and several others.

The point of this matter is that this class of 1838 included James Russell Lowell, Charles Devens, Nathan Hale, and William Ingersoll Bowditch, not one of whom received any mention; nor were those who received mention ever heard of again in the world.

CHAPTER IV

THE RIOTOUS THIRTIES

A Decade of Storm and Stress, and of a People's Double Life — War on the Irish — The Transcript and the Ursuline Convent's Destruction and the Broad Street Riot.

THE period from 1830 to 1840 was certainly the most extraordinary — in many respects the most disturbing and in all ways fullest of ferment and foreboding for the future — of any decade in the history of Boston. All through this time the city seethed with the spirit of change. Along the lower level of life, riots, some of them of a desperate and sanguinary nature, were of frequent happening. In his great autobiography, 'The Education of Henry Adams,' Mr. Adams truly says that in that general period Boston 'lived a double life.' He means that on one hand the people, as the result of the influence of certain great and high-minded men and women, were being inspired with ideals of mental and moral progress as they never had been before. In literature America's golden age was dawning, and dawning first in Boston. Emerson had begun to lecture and write. Longfellow's and Whittier's poems, and Hawthorne's romances, were appearing. The genial light of Holmes had begun to diffuse itself. Channing's gospel was at its apogee. Pulpits were filled with saintly reformers. Anti-Slavery, temperance, social reconstruction, popular education, 'women's rights,' the amelioration of the lot of the workers, a score of betterment agi-

tations, were at their beginning. The leaven of change ran through the whole life of New England, as well as of the nation.

This was one side of the 'double life' noted by Henry Adams. The other was a startling prevalence of the mob spirit — a sort of surly and violent reaction against change, against the intrusion of new and strange peoples and disturbing ideas. There were curious reverse currents against the spread of enlightenment. On March 19, 1831, the Transcript published conspicuously a complaint from one of the suburban towns that the Lyceum lectures were 'playing the devil with young men, who now think nothing of rising in town meeting and talking the old men out of their senses.'

The newspapers of the thirties either had this spirit to contend with or could by means of it boost their circulation. Riots and violence went on around them. As we have noted, the very first number of the Transcript, in an article immediately following its salutatory, complained of the system of depredations carried on by 'a combination of young men, minors and apprentices in respectable mercantile establishments, who have been for a long time plundering their employers of goods and money.' The Transcript complained, August 6, 1831, of the damage to trees on the Common 'by fire-balls which are frequently kindled,' and of the 'general violence and excesses committed by riotous and disorderly persons.' It declared that a 'wanton spirit of destruction prevailed.' There were, it seems, in the city two clubs of youths, aged from sixteen to

twenty, who 'went about committing ruffianly acts.' These acts continued for a long time. 'Watchmen' were powerless against the gangs. The Transcript noted, January 27, 1834, that 'Mr. Pollard, our city marshal, has two young, active, and vigilant assistants to see that our municipal laws and regulations are duly obeyed.' This small force was quite unable to cope with frequent public disorder.

The first, and some of the worst, demonstrations of the mob spirit, taking the form of riot, were directed against the incoming flood of Irish migration, which manifested itself as early as the year 1830. The Transcript came at once, and earnestly, to the defense of the Irish immigrants against this spirit. February 23 it made prominent a communication signed 'Mentor' (it bears signs of having come from the hand of Editor Walter himself) asking fair treatment for 'the Irish, that unfortunate race,' who, the writer says, 'show a modest willingness to bear the burdens fate has imposed upon them, and a disposition to live among us as good citizens.' March 17, 1832, the Transcript had this item:

' ST. PATRICK'S DAY. The sons of the Emerald Isle celebrated the anniversary of their patron saint. Long life to them and theirs! May the green gem of the ocean never lose its sheen, nor a flaw be found in the heart of an Irishman.

The first regular battle — it was followed by scores of others — which the Transcript recorded was on May 20, 1831, when '200 Yankees' attacked the 'Irish camps' at Lowell and evidently worsted the occupants. The three persons arrested after this affray were

'Yankees,' named Brown, Welley, and Smallcorn. Meantime reports were published in the paper that thousands of Irish paupers were being systematically dumped in the port by the British authorities, to get rid of them. Catholic churches and convents, established here and there, appeared to the native masses, Puritan in sentiment, as a frightful menace. November 28, 1833, there was a fierce riot in Charlestown between townsmen and Irishmen employed on the new railroad. In it, a blacksmith, Benjamin Daniels, one of the 'Yankees,' was killed, and two others were so severely beaten that their recovery was uncertain. That night the 'natives' broke up an Irish dance in the house of one McGowan. Men from McGowan's house, which was destroyed by the mob, were said to have killed Daniels. Public excitement ran high. The disturbances were quelled by marines from the Navy Yard.

About now the Irish began to introduce their trans-Atlantic affairs into Boston life. The Transcript published a paid notice for a meeting, January 13, 1834, in behalf of the repeal of the Act of Union of Ireland with England. Said the advertisement: 'The friends of civil and religious liberty are indiscriminately invited to attend. (Signed) Richard W. Roche, Secretary.' About now, too, Daniel O'Connell, Irish leader, began to excite the wrath of the opponents of abolitionism by denouncing American slaveholders as kidnappers and murderers. Soon the railways were building — to Providence, to Lowell, and to Worcester — and building by Irish labor. At Mansfield and Attleboro there

was a strike of these laborers, who marched in a mob from town to town causing a panic. The people began to fear that the country was being invaded by a horde of Huns — especially as there was fierce fighting between factions of the Irish themselves, the Corkonians and the Fardowners. The condition of some of the immigrants was most miserable, and certainly far from prepossessing. The Transcript of May 20, 1834, said: 'Sundry Irish citizens have found lodgings the past week in a lot of old stills lying on T Wharf. They picked their nest feathers from bundles of hay on the wharf, lying like pigs in clover curled up in serpentine order.' Hundreds of immigrants were domiciled in damp cellars along the water front. The natives were inclined to regard the whole immigration as a strange and fearsome irruption.

Everything that was wrong, at about this time, was attributed to the Irish. The papers from day to day contained items like these:

> On his way home last night a gentleman was knocked down and robbed of his wallet by an Irishman, unknown.
>
> Six Irishmen assaulted two watchmen on Broad Street last evening. Both of the policemen were badly beaten.

It will be observed that the assailants in these cases were unknown, but it was assumed readily enough that they were Irish; this almost as a matter of course, although the disorderly and riotous propensities of native youths had but a year or two before aroused much concern. By such means, and the growing prominence

of new Catholic institutions, the mob spirit was being wrought up to the point of open violence.

It was in August, 1834, that the spirit of opposition broke forth in the violent attack of a mob upon the Ursuline Convent at Mount Benedict, on the border between Charlestown and Somerville. In 1826, this convent, of an order of nuns engaged in the education of girls, had been built on Mount Benedict, a hill then in Charlestown, now in Somerville. It was conducting a thriving and very well-regarded school for girls, three fourths of its pupils being Americans and Protestants. Early in August, 1834, the Boston Journal, then called the Mercantile Journal, published a story to the effect that a young woman, not named, originally a Protestant, who had been a pupil at the convent, and who had at length taken the veil, had become dissatisfied, and had made her escape from the institution. This story, by the way, had followed a similar one, of which Miss Rebecca Reed, a convert, had been the heroine two years before. The girl in the second case, had, as in the other, been persuaded to return, being told — so the story ran — that if she would continue her work or study at the convent she would soon be dismissed with honor. At the end of a short time, friends called for her, and asked if she were going to be liberated. She was not to be found. 'Much alarm,' the Journal said, 'is excited in consequence.' This story was taken up in Charlestown, East Cambridge, and Boston, and the tale ran that the girl had been imprisoned, or was otherwise put under forcible restraint. The situation was aggravated

by a fierce sermon preached against the Catholics by Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, at the Park Street Church.

The name of the girl in this case was Elizabeth Harrison. She was the daughter of a man living in New York State, and she seems to have taken the veil with the consent of her family. According to the account which the Catholic Bishop Fenwick caused to be published in the Transcript, Elizabeth, while in a 'debilitated state of mind,' had a violent attack of hysterics, left the convent in her dress as a religious, and went to the house of a Protestant neighbor named Runey. Bishop Fenwick reported the matter at once to Elizabeth's father. Then the Bishop, by arrangement, went with Elizabeth's brother Thomas to see her. The brother persuaded her to return to the convent. In the meantime, the excitement over the affair had led the selectmen of Charlestown (which had not then been annexed to Boston), named Thomas Hooper, Abijah Monroe, Samuel Poor, Stephen Wiley, and John Runey, to visit the convent. They afterward officially reported that they had been shown over the whole place by the young lady herself; that she had no complaint to make, and 'expressed herself to be entirely satisfied with her present condition.' It appeared that she was at liberty to leave when she chose. These assurances either did not come to the ears of the populace, or were not heeded; for on the night of Monday, August 11, a great crowd, assembled by the burning of a pile of tar barrels, climbed Mount Benedict. After much shouting and denouncing, the cry was raised, 'Down with the convent! Away with

the nuns!' The convent was soon sacked, and then set on fire and burned to the ground, the nuns and the pupils and other inmates being permitted to take refuge in adjoining houses.

The subsequent report of the distinguished Boston committee, all Protestants, appointed to investigate the affair, contained this statement: 'Having ransacked the building, they [the mob] proceeded, with great deliberation, about one o'clock, to set fire to it. For this purpose, broken furniture, books, curtains and other combustible materials were placed in the centre of several of the rooms; and, as if in mockery of God as well as of man, the Bible was cast, with shouts of exultation, upon the fire kindled; and as upon this were subsequently thrown the vestments and the ornaments of the altar, these shouts and yells were repeated. Nor did they cease until the cross was wrenched from its place and cast into the flames.'

There is little doubt that the Mother Superior of the convent exhibited a certain amount of indiscretion in dealing with the mob on this occasion — in threatening them, for example, with retaliation by 'a thousand brave Irishmen.' Bishop Fenwick admitted that some of the excitement had been occasioned 'by the language of a Sister of the convent who had been some time deprived of reason by a brain fever.' But these women could hardly be blamed for certain hysterical expressions of indignation when threatened by so wild a mob.

The Transcript's reaction to this outrage was ex-

pressed in strong terms. On August 12 it had this article:

> We passed the ruins of the Ursuline Convent this morning. They were, indeed, a melancholy and a mortifying sight. We hung our head in shame, whilst our spirit was indignant. We felt a sense of degradation, whilst we could have leapt into the flames, to seize upon the atrocious villains who had brought this disgrace, stamped — not indelibly, we thank God — on the character and escutcheon of New England. The soul sickens — the heart grows faint — the whole man is unmanned — at the very thought of the abomination. The perpetrators of the outrage *must* be ferreted out, and summarily punished as they merit.... We repeat it, that it is the duty of every man who has strength enough to bear a musket to gird himself for the fight, and in protecting property and life, protect the honor of New England, the honor of Massachusetts, the honor of Boston.

The selectmen of Charlestown issued a formal statement — to clear their town of the primary shame of the outrage — that the 'peace of the town had been disturbed by mobs from the city of Boston and other places in the vicinity.' It is true that at the subsequent trial at East Cambridge of the members of the mob who had been identified, it was found that several of the ringleaders had come from Cambridge and Boston. But a well-attended mass meeting at Faneuil Hall, presided over by Mayor Theodore Lyman, had passed spirited resolutions expressing abhorrence of the outrage and promising protection to 'our Catholic brethren.' These resolutions were prepared by Josiah Quincy, and advocated by Harrison Gray Otis. It remains to be said that though several of the rioters were identified, none

of them was ever adequately punished. Popular sympathy in Cambridge during the trial was plainly on the side of the accused persons. Two of the accused, Blaisdell and Mason, were acquitted. Marvin Marcy, a young man, was the only one convicted. He received a life sentence in prison. He was a scapegoat merely, and Bishop Fenwick and the Mother Superior of the convent ere long signed a petition for his pardon, which was finally granted. The exiled nuns and their pupils found refuge in Roxbury, and their institution and school were eventually removed to Quebec.

The prosecution had ended in a farce. Manifestly there was a foundation of public sympathy with the outrage. Apropos of this fact a curious note regarding the matter is found in the Boston Public Library's copy of Dr. Caleb H. Snow's 'History of Boston,' a standard work published by Abel Bowen and dated 1825. Dr. Snow, anticipating a second edition of the work, wrote with his pen many notes and addenda for his book, which were bound into his copy, now in the Barton collection at the Boston Public Library. One of these notes, in the doctor's clear and fine handwriting, is as follows:

Whenever a future edition of this history shall appear in my name, let it appear that I have never seen or heard of any circumstance which induces me to believe there was a single spark of *religious* intolerance in the hearts or heads of those who set fire to the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown. On the contrary, it as yet appears evident that the outrage was consummated in a belief that the character of the institution in a moral point of view was doubtful, and that the cloak of

religious devotion was used to cover sinful practices in this convent as in those of Europe.

So mote it not be.

CALEB H. SNOW.

Jan. 27, 1835.

The author of the book seems to think that this explanation of the outrage put a better light on the performance, but it scarcely appears so at this time.

It was a year after the Ursuline outrage that the Transcript published an article in general defense of the Irish — an article which it must have required some courage to present in view of the fact that the public feeling against the immigrants was still running very high, and resulting in frequent public collisions. Said the Transcript in this article (March 20, 1835):

> The Irish are accused of every sort of offence. But we Yankees are immaculate. We never do any wrong, and we never did. We never hung a witch nor burned a convent. We are exclusively liberal, exclusively benevolent, exclusively temperate, exclusively honest, exclusively patriotic, exclusively righteous, and exclusively the most self-sufficient people on the face of the earth.

The article goes on to say of the Irish:

> They are, as a class, industrious and hard-working. Let the unprejudiced look to our public improvements, the rapidly expanding confines of our city, our new wharves, our bridges and railroads. Who built them? Yankee enterprise furnished the capital, but who supplied the labor, the indispensable muscular strength? Who dug down the hills and filled up the valleys? Who deepened the docks and extended the wharves? Who have done for us what we could not do for ourselves? Who laid the foundations of Central Wharf? Irishmen. The Western Avenue? Irishmen. Commercial Street? Irishmen.

The Providence Railroad? Irishmen. The Worcester Railroad? Irishmen. The Lowell Railroad? Irishmen.

And so on. The Transcript bespeaks kind words and fair treatment for the children of the Emerald Isle. The editor received many scurrilous letters regarding this article, one of which he published. It is not worth while to repeat it.

The Transcript's benevolence toward the Irish did not flag all through this bitter period. When the Irish immigrants became fairly numerous, they conceived the idea of organizing a company of citizen soldiers after the fashion then prevalent. There were in the city at least a dozen of these volunteer companies, all gorgeously uniformed, and ready to turn out for public parades; they were called by such names as the Soul of Soldiery, the Fusiliers, the Charlestown Blues, the Columbian Artillery, and so forth. The new Irish company was called the Montgomery Guards. Included in a public parade, it was stoned by a mob in passing through the Common and many of its members were severely injured in the assault. The Transcript records the fact that not a soldier of this company paid any attention whatever to the attack. All marched stolidly along, though the blood was streaming down many of the faces. This outrage excited the indignation of all decent citizens.

In the history of the Riotous Thirties, there now intervened the period of the anti-abolition riots, which went on, at intervals, for the space of a dozen years — their most sensational demonstration being the mob

attack on William Lloyd Garrison and his Liberator office, in October, 1835; but before this chapter of history, with which the Transcript's own story is closely interwoven, is entered upon, the Irish period may be dismissed with some account of the extraordinary Broad Street riots, which took place June 11, 1837. It should be stated that at that time the extinguishment of fires, which were extremely common, was in the hands of a volunteer fire department, each company a local or ward affair, consisting of young men who were neighbors and hail fellows well met. The engines consisted of portentous hand-pumping apparatus, by means of which water was forced to a fire through long lines of hose, inserted in wells or other sources of supply. These engines were drawn through the streets by the members of the company on foot, who blew trumpets and yelled as they rushed to a conflagration. Intense rivalries and feuds prevailed among the companies. It was a great point to be first at a fire, to be able to force water through the greatest length of hose, and to make the most noise on the way to or from a fire. The companies had names that were as sensational as possible — the Torrent, Vesuvius, and so on. The firemen had a lingo of their own, and gloried in it. On the front of the engine of Vesuvius Company, which hailed from Ward 12, were the cabalistic words: 'Stive me the geal forker!' 'Out of the way — Vesuvius coming!' the yell rang through the speaking-trumpets as the company took the street. Sometimes citizens were in doubt whether the principal feature at a fire would be the putting out

of the conflagration or the riot between rival companies, over a question which had been mooted in the papers whether one company or the other had on a previous occasion pumped water through the greater length of hose. But it must be acknowledged that the fire companies of the thirties had another side. The companies regularly held banquets, at which there were 'literary exercises,' generally with an original poem read by some member.

The Broad Street riot was the result of a collision of two fire companies, No. 9 and No. 20, who were returning on Sunday afternoon from a fire in Roxbury to which they had been called, with an Irish funeral procession in Broad Street — a district which at that time was the centre of the Irish quarter. It was alleged by some of the members of the procession that No. 9 ran into the hearse, and threw the body to the ground. This was denied by witnesses at the inquiry, and indeed was not confirmed by any serious evidence. At all events, there was a sharp collision. A very popular and brave fireman, Charles Sears, honored for heroic rescues, was violently kicked by the resisting Irish. Other firemen arrived, and all the Irish section of the city turned out; in a few minutes a desperate battle was in progress. The Irish broke into a wood-yard on the street and possessed themselves of cord-wood and stakes, with which they belabored the firemen. Soon crowds had assembled who were said by the papers to number fifteen thousand. Broad and Purchase Streets were the centre of the battle, which surged between that point and India Wharf.

The Irish were forced into their houses, and presently the cry was raised, 'Sack their houses! Rip them up!' And as a matter of ghastly fact, nearly every house in the city inhabited by an Irish family was sacked and wrecked. Heads were broken on both sides, and many fierce wounds were carried home by the Yankee population. It pleased the fancy of the 'Americans,' as the attackers were, not altogether proudly, called by the newspaper reports, to slit every feather bed in the Irish houses, and throw the contents into the streets, so that the next day the feathers were more than ankle deep in the streets. The militia were called out — every one of the numerous companies in the city. Martial law was declared. The mayor placed guards around all the churches — nobody could tell why. Several Americans were arrested for sacking houses, but none were punished. Seventeen Irishmen were arrested, but only Barney Fanning and John Welsh received House of Correction terms of two months each.

The Broad Street attack, with its deplorable indiscriminate sacking of the houses of the Irish people, was roundly denounced by the Transcript. It did not end anti-Irish demonstrations. Nor were abolitionism and the Irish the only causes of riots in Boston in the thirties. A certain Dr. Graham, who was delivering lectures at Amory Hall on Marriage and Courtship to audiences of women, was on March 5, 1837, mobbed by a crowd of men, who came prepared to tar and feather the doctor, and who would have carried out their intention but for the effective intervention of the city marshal, Mr. Parkman.

CHAPTER V

THE TRANSCRIPT AND SLAVERY

Admiration for William Lloyd Garrison which Later Turned to Derision — The Mobbing of Garrison — The Tide Turns Slowly to the Anti-Slavery Side.

THE battle royal of the eighteen-thirties, forties, and fifties — it began in 1831 and really lasted for more than thirty years — in which no newspaper of the period could fail to have some part, was over the question of the abolition of human slavery. On the Abolitionists' side it was the sternest sort of persistent agitation, eschewing physical violence but becoming increasingly and extremely bitter, and sometimes challenging reprisals. On the pro-slavery side it was a warfare of rough ridicule, of denunciation, and sometimes of actual violence — the whole campaign on that side infused with a clumsy, scornful humor, as if the movement for human freedom were not worthy of serious thought. At the very outset, to be sure, the Boston papers generally took the anti-slavery agitation in a tolerant and rather sympathetic way. In 1830 there was practically no distinctly pro-slavery sentiment in Massachusetts. Everybody believed that slavery was in a broad sense a social evil — a thing somehow to be got rid of. Even in the Southern States there was a considerable sentiment in favor of gradual abolition. Virginia held a well-attended convention at Richmond in which measures were approved for the early extinction of the institution.

Then William Lloyd Garrison appeared on the scene. He started in Boston, January 1, 1831, his Liberator newspaper, which ran for thirty-seven years. The Transcript of that same day welcomed the appearance of the paper. It quoted, with all its capital letters, the whole of Garrison's famous salutatory, containing the words, 'I will be as harsh as truth, as uncompromising as justice; I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — and I will be heard!' The Transcript, at this moment, spoke of Garrison as 'the indomitable Scipio Africanus of editors'; and called attention to the fact that it had 'already commended the talents and honesty of this gentleman.' But it deprecated his tendency to violent language, and the 'implacable bitterness of his spirit.' So far so good. In the prominence which he gave in his columns to the advent of the Liberator, the young editor of the Transcript proved that he had an open mind as well as a nose for news. The Transcript from day to day thereafter also published advance notices — but no reports — of Garrison's anti-slavery lectures at Julian Hall on Milk Street.

But Garrison and those who listened sympathetically soon stirred up a deal of hostile excitement. There was angry protest in the South, and in many Democratic papers at the North. Ere long State Street took fright at the agitation. This was natural. Business and personal relations between Boston and the South were close and profitable. Dozens of packets and lesser vessels were plying constantly between the city and South-

ern ports. Harvard College was full of Southern students. Many Southern people spent their summers in New England. A hurtful trade and social breach began to appear as the result of the agitation. And the violence of the extreme wing of the Abolitionists actually seemed to increase. They threatened the rupture of the Union in order to be rid of constitutional slavery. The agitation became visibly anti-national in its spirit.

Under these circumstances the attitude of the Transcript toward the uncompromising Garrison grew less indulgent. The paper could not go beyond the good will of its readers. Its circulation then was but seven hundred copies; it was trying to get many more readers, and must get them. While the Transcript did not abate its general opposition to the institution of slavery, it began to denounce the extreme utterances of the Abolitionists. Its actual platform with regard to slavery was declared August 29, 1831, when it said, apropos of the outbreak of the frightful Nat Turner slave insurrection in Virginia: 'Let our southern brethren do more to enlighten their slaves and they will do much to protect themselves. Let them introduce a system of gradual amelioration and emancipation, let the black be taught that the white man does not recognize an indisputable power over body, mind and soul.' And it asked: 'What forbids the passage of a law that every child born of a slave shall be free, and educated at public expense? We wish that the people of the slave-holding states would think more of this subject. Slavery, in this country, cannot exist forever, and they who feel its curse fall heaviest

should surely not be the last to attempt a remedy for the evil.'

To this reasonable and moderate platform the Transcript adhered so long as there was any hope of accommodation. All this time the popular indignation against the Abolitionist disturbers was rising. The first riotous proceeding came October 8, 1833, when a printed handbill was circulated violently denouncing Garrison for standing by, on a lecturing tour he had been making in England, whilst Daniel O'Connell was said to have called Americans 'a set of sheep-stealers and man-murderers.' It was a fact that, on this trip of Garrison's in Britain, O'Connell, who was an intense hater of human slavery wherever it lifted its head, had called the slaveholders by such names, and possibly worse; but the anti-Abolitionists in this country had perverted his words in such fashion as to make them apply to all Americans. Called out by the handbill referred to, a dense mob assembled around the Liberator office, threatening destruction, but finally dispersed without doing much harm. The Transcript from time to time copied from other papers items containing remarks highly irritating to Americans in general, said to have been made by O'Connell in anti-slavery speeches.

By the middle of 1834 the Transcript's paid circulation had risen to 2400. It had slightly increased the size of its sheet, but had reduced the size of its type. It was quite prosperous, and its prosperity was a pledge of its loyalty to the general sentiment of the community. Along about 1834–35 the paper for a considerable time

had a series of very vigorous Washington letters (afterward discontinued) of an editorial character. January 9, 1835, it published prominently in this correspondence a statement that 'the South begins to assume an angry attitude' toward the agitation against slavery; 'a murmur of discontent has been set on foot, which it is apprehended will at no distant day promote the already agitated project of disunion. There can be little doubt that the South is anxious for the formation of a Southern Confederacy.' This was a striking prediction for the year 1835. It went ahead of the foresight of the statesmen, and particularly that of Daniel Webster, who at that time was the idol of New England, including the Transcript, and who wrapped himself in a mantle of easy optimism regarding the future.

It was about this time that the Transcript began to publish denunciatory paragraphs concerning the Reverend George Thompson, an English anti-slavery lecturer of good character and oratorical ability, who, after agitating in England for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, had come to America to preach the cause here. Thompson was entertained by Emerson at Concord, but not much liked by him, and was welcomed by Channing and the anti-slavery men generally in Boston. Emerson speaks of Thompson in his Journal (October 10, 1835) as 'belonging to the great class of the vanity-stricken.' 'He had,' Emerson goes on to say, 'an inordinate thirst for notice that cannot be gratified until it has found in its gropings what is called a cause that men will bow down to.' The Transcript was unmeasured in its

opposition to Thompson. It said, July 21, 1835: 'The Abolitionists were wholly discomfited, as we learn from all quarters, last night in Julian Hall. Thompson, the wandering insurrectionist, came in and tried to take part. Mr. Gurley commented on the disgraceful handbills circulated by his party in England; Thompson attempted to interrupt him; he was shouted down: "Shame! Shame!"' And the Transcript went on to say: 'A Boston audience, we trust, will always have the dignity and spirit to do the like. It is bad enough that the vagabond should be suffered to stir up insurrection in his own discussions.'

The Transcript was now getting far away from sympathy with Garrison. July 25, it quoted from the New York Commercial Advertiser an account of the happy condition of slaves on a certain South Carolina plantation, to which it called attention as a refutation of the current reports of the evils of slavery. August 3, 1835, the Transcript said: 'It is plainly obvious that the people of the slaveholding states will not tolerate the outrageous denunciations of the Immediate Abolitionists any longer, and it becomes us of New England and the non-slaveholding states generally, amongst whom they have built their nests, for personal security, to consider how far the constitutional privileges and guaranteed rights of the South shall be infringed and encroached upon, marred, mutilated, and brought into contempt, and the whole country threatened with civil war, by infatuated madmen — mischief-making declaimers and reckless arguers on abstract principles.'

Mob attacks became the rule in the case of public meetings of the Abolitionists. A Thompson-Garrison meeting in Lynn was stoned through the windows and broken up. Thompson's life was openly threatened. A meeting at Worcester addressed by the Reverend Mr. Scott was mobbed and the minister ejected. The Transcript reprinted from the Atlas, with implied approval, a communication proposing that Thompson should be tarred and feathered. Humorous accounts were given of more or less disguised attacks on churches, in which the Abolitionists were beginning to hold their meetings; for many ministers, particularly of the Unitarian denomination, had joined the abolition movement, and lent their churches for the purposes of the agitation, opening the meetings with prayer and thus imparting to them a religious character in order to obtain the protection of the authorities; for it was against the law to disturb religious meetings. In Mansfield, a brass band concealed itself in the gallery of a church. When the anti-slavery speeches opened the band played and drowned all utterance. When the members of the meeting attempted to ascend to the gallery and expel the band, they were thrown down the stairs by members of the mob, concealed up to that time under the benches, in the gallery. At Brighton, where a meeting had been opened in a church with prayer, all the dogs in the neighborhood were collected under the eaves and, when the speeches began, were set on one another so that a deafening din of yells and barks arose, which was augmented by the screams of all the boys of the town. These and worse

mob attacks made a subject for highly diverting paragraphs in the newspapers.

The general attitude of the press to all social changes is reflected in a paragraph in the Transcript of May 11, 1838. In Pennsylvania Hall, Philadelphia, a notable meeting of Abolitionists had been addressed by Garrison and by several women, including Maria W. Chapman of Boston, Mrs. Angelina E. Grimke, and Lucretia Mott. Next day the Pennsylvania Hall was burned down by a mob, who prevented the firemen from extinguishing the flames. The Transcript reprinted and editorially commended an article from the National Gazette, which put upon the women speakers at this meeting the blame for the destruction of the hall; the Transcript said: 'This should teach the females to appreciate their social position without looking for strange and immoderate privileges, and running after reforms for their own sex. Instead of attending useless discussions and listening to itinerant lecturers, let them read at home.'

In the meantime, the announcement column on the editorial page of the Transcript, where notices of public and society meetings were then, as now, regularly presented, contained many calls for meetings of anti-slavery bodies and organizations. The increasing number of these notices, which the Transcript never hesitated to publish, proved the growth of the movement. The Female Anti-Slavery Society was particularly influential. It held fairs and bazaars in aid of the cause. Names of women highly respected in Boston society figured in the calls for these affairs and in their manage-

ment, and secured for them an increasing degree of immunity from attack. An appeal of this period in the Transcript in behalf of a fair of the Anti-Slavery Society is signed by Louisa Loring, Eliza Lee Follen, Susan Cabot, Olivia Bowditch, Maria Weston Chapman, Anna T. Greene Phillips, and Henrietta Sargent.

It was on August 31, 1835, that the gathering storm burst. Thompson was announced to speak, with Garrison, at the Liberator office, on State Street not far from Washington (the Transcript office was just around the corner on Exchange Street), at a meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Society at 3 P.M. The day before, the Transcript had published a report that Thompson had said that 'every slave-holder ought to have his throat cut.' Before the time appointed for the meeting, a crowd of three or four hundred people had assembled in front of the Liberator office, loudly threatening violence. Thompson was spirited away by the Abolitionists, but Garrison remained. Mayor Theodore Lyman addressed the crowd, assuring them that he knew that Thompson was not in the city. The mob then began to call for Garrison, who — so said the Transcript account the next day — made his escape by climbing down out of a back window. As a matter of fact, he was taken to the Suffolk Jail by a party of friends for safety. Beyond this, there was no account in the paper of any violence, and the Transcript commended the 'temperate bearing of the crowd.' But the Liberator, in its next number, contained a different and an indignant account of the affair; and this account brought out, in the Transcript

of October 26, a denial of the Liberator's statement regarding Garrison's conduct. Editor Walter, in this article, brought himself out as an eye-witness of the demonstration, saying:

> When Garrison was led out of Wilson's Lane [now Devonshire Street] we stood on the curbstone of the sidewalk, within two feet of him when he passed on. There was no 'crowd pressing on every side;' on the contrary, the crowd seemed disposed to retire, as if awe-stricken, and when he (Garrison) came out of the lane with the young men who had him in charge, there were not six persons within nearly two rods of him. His countenance was deadly pale, whilst a ghastly smile was diffused over his pallid features, which we shall never forget whilst we live. We have seen men hung and shot — not once, but frequently — and never saw a countenance that affected us so sensibly. Mr. Garrison, when dragged out of his hiding-place, did not utter a word. He fell down on his knees, and prayed for mercy with the ardor of despair; and when assured that no one should hurt him, he seemed scarcely to know what was said to him, or what he was about.

Meantime Thompson was being hounded from place to place. Supposed to be at Newport, 'a crowd assembled in the streets,' and diligent search was made for him in vain. The Salem Gazette said he had sailed for England. The Transcript commented: 'The sooner he is out of the country the better.' He really sailed from Salem for England in November.

Anti-slavery meetings were now everywhere howled down. At Salem a solemn prayer meeting, 'for slaves and for the peaceful abolition of slavery throughout the world,' was invaded and broken up. Things went on very much in this way for some time. But the Transcript,

though hostile to extreme Abolitionism, earnestly opposed the aggressions of the slave interests in Texas. It denounced a movement which a certain Major Norton was trying to get up in Boston to aid the Texans. 'A rare opportunity to get rid of loafers,' it called this pro-Texan expedition. Next day Norton, in one of the other papers, denounced this allusion to 'loafers' as 'the most blackguard article ever written.' Walter responded in the Transcript: 'The Major should recollect that we stand almost as many inches in our stocking feet as he, and are nearly as broad across the shoulders.' Norton was heard of no more in the controversy.

Editor Walter was rapidly becoming a popular hero. It was in that autumn of 1835 that, as before noted, he was elected to the Legislature on the Whig ticket. For a 'non-partisan editor' he was doing pretty well in politics.

In the mean time, the anti-slavery sentiment was gaining headway. Thousands of converts were made by a despicable assault committed with a blacksnake whip in his office on the gentle but courageous Abolitionist Samuel Sewall, by a couple of young men, evidently socially prominent in their own community, who came from Baltimore for the purpose of beating this distinguished anti-slavery advocate, and who gained admission to Sewall by claiming to be on law business. Various incidents, in which Negroes domiciled peaceably and well liked in New England were claimed as slaves, and taken away to the South, contributed to the growth of the sentiment against slavery. The Transcript duly and

indignantly reported these outrages. One of them was a case at Sanbornton, New Hampshire, in which a farmer named Rollins had been permitted by the overseers of the poor to take a mulatto boy, ten years of age, to keep for a year to work for him. Rollins sold the boy for ten dollars to one Samuel Bennett, of Alabama, who was about to take him away when the overseers took charge of the boy; and Rollins was held to the court for kidnapping. Apropos of this case, the Transcript copied an item from the New York Commercial Advertiser, which stated that the business of kidnapping children and selling them South was common in New York, and that some of the children were white. By such information the Transcript was helping the Abolitionists whilst condemning them.

The acerbity of the Transcript's comments on the Abolitionists practically ceased with the death of Mr. Walter in 1842. His sister, Miss Cornelia Walter, who for five years edited the paper, took little interest in politics, and apparently none at all in the slavery controversy. Epes Sargent, who filled the editorial chair from 1847 to 1852, leaned more and more plainly to the Abolitionist side, as the general public was now doing. When Mr. Daniel Noyes Haskell came in, in 1852, Webster had made his famous and, for the cause of slavery, disastrous Seventh of March speech. Sargent condemned this speech immediately after its utterance in the Senate. The Transcript's comment on this address was the first depreciatory word about its idol Webster that the paper had ever uttered. It said: 'It

cannot be denied that the speech of Mr. Webster has produced much surprise, and no little dissatisfaction, among his friends here. Even the Atlas [Webster's personal organ and a paper in which he was said to have a financial interest] admits as much as this. Mr. Webster spoke three hours and a half; and the Southern portion of the audience gave testimony of being highly pleased with the address.' Next day the Transcript reprinted denunciatory comments on the speech from the New York papers. The Whig charm was broken. The Transcript now constantly advanced toward a stronger anti-slavery position.

Indeed, the condemnation of Webster's too politic surrender to the slave power was practically unanimous in New England. It showed how sentiment had changed under the sharp attrition of Garrison's agitation, and the heroic years of old John Quincy Adams's steady presentation of petitions against slavery to a House of Representatives that would not listen. For year after year Adams had, with unsparing logic, defied the arrogance with which all his petitions were instantly tabled and suppressed by Congress. Nothing in the history of parliaments was ever more dramatic or really more thrilling than the unwearying persistence of this old man, who had been President of the United States, but who did not scorn to take a lower position for a great purpose, and who in season and out pushed the anti-slavery cause until he actually fell dead in the House. It is probable that Adams made more converts in New England than Garrison did. The Transcript reported

every motion and every step that Adams made in Congress.

At last, in May, 1854, when Anthony Burns, a Virginian slave who had taken refuge and found employment in Boston, was arrested and confined in the court-house in Court Square as a preliminary to his delivery under the Fugitive Slave Act to his owner, Charles F. Suttle, it was suddenly discovered that the mob spirit in Boston had begun to run the other way. Burns, the slave, found able lawyers and distinguished backers in legal proceedings to delay his surrender on the warrant which Suttle obtained. In Faneuil Hall Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker stirred up public sentiment to the point of actual resistance to the law. Young Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a Unitarian minister — and young Charles W. Eliot, as I have had it from his own lips, was not far behind in the crowd — led a large party which attempted to storm the court-house and liberate Burns. The assailants had secured a log or heavy pole. With Higginson at the front end of the pole on one side and a stalwart Negro on the other, they battered in the court-house door. But there they were overcome by a strong posse of deputies marshaled on the inside of the building. One deputy was killed in the fight; Higginson and other assailants were wounded. Burns was held under arrest, and by military aid shipped on the revenue cutter Morris and sent back, a captive slave, to Virginia.

This new kind of riot had failed; but the tide had turned. Countless houses in Boston were hung in black

next day. The Transcript deprecated violence, but the tone of its comment was sympathetic. The paper's record on slavery, which began with the welcoming of the Liberator in 1831, and which, with all its deprecation, was against slavery as an institution — with perhaps the one exception of the quoted flattery of South Carolinian 'good slaveholders' — was cleared. It even published an editorial paragraph withdrawing all it had ever said against the agitator George Thompson and acknowledging his character as a deserving friend of freedom.

CHAPTER VI

THE LADY EDITOR

Mr. Walter Succeeded by his Sister — Dickens's Picture of American Editors of the Period — Miss Walter's Success — Her Memorable Attack on Edgar Allan Poe.

Lynde M. Walter, first editor of the Transcript, died July 24, 1842, after a long and painful illness which for nearly two years disqualified him from active editorial work. He was at his death forty-three years old. The Transcript of October 9, 1840, had had this editorial paragraph: 'We are sick to-day; do not expect much of this afternoon's paper. A racking headache and a raging tooth are not very pleasant bed-fellows.' As a matter of fact, this pathetic paragraph marked the last appearance of Walter at the office in Exchange Street. He took to his bed, in his father's home at 58 Belknap Street (now 9 or 10 Joy Street), where he had lived throughout his editorial career. His illness was a malady, imperfectly diagnosed at that time, consequent upon the carrying of a banner in a political (Whig) parade in the campaign of 1840. The butt of the pole which supported the banner had rested, it seems, upon his belt, in such a way as to inflict an internal injury, from which cancer apparently resulted. He suffered greatly.

The Transcript of January 1, 1842, contained an article of most poignant feeling, signed 'L. M. W.,' addressed by him to his office chair. It begins, 'Do you know, my dear Elbow Chair, that it is nearly seventeen

months since I saw the light of your pleasant countenance?' Though the article is brightly written, it contains the words, 'Adieu, my friends,' and is manifestly written with a feeling that the author's end is near. It closes with the churchly words — still addressed to the chair — 'Pax vobiscum; grace be with you. Benedicite.' Never was there a sadder editorial valedictory. The Boston papers of the next few days after his death contained many and hearty tributes to the Transcript editor. These proved that he had been generally and highly esteemed.

Throughout Walter's incapacitation, the active editorial work of the paper had been carried on by a man named Joseph Palmer, who had been educated as a physician and was called 'Doctor,' but who had become a hack journalist, working for short periods on almost every paper in Boston and never remaining very long in any position. He gained at least a humble place in literature through the accident of his being in charge of the Transcript on the occasion of Charles Dickens's first visit to Boston, in January, 1842. Palmer was a hustling editor of an intrusive type then quite prevalent — a type to which Lynde M. Walter had never belonged. Palmer was foremost among the 'editors' who jumped aboard the ship when Dickens landed at Boston, January 22, 1842. It was he who, as Dickens related in a letter to his friend Forster, leaped aboard the ship from the wharf, and rushed up to Dickens with a greeting, asking him, 'Have you engaged rooms at any hotel?' 'I have not,' said Dickens, 'but Macready has recommended to me

the Tremont.' Palmer thereupon jumped off the boat and rushed in a cab to the Tremont House, where he arranged for rooms, which Dickens proceeded to occupy. This type of the American journalist of the period is further described in the letter of Dickens to Forster: 'Long before we were moored at the wharf, a dozen men came leaping aboard at the peril of their lives, with great bundles of newspapers under their arms; worsted comforters, very much the worse for wear, round their necks, and so forth. "Ah, ha!" says I, "this is like our London Bridge"; believing, of course, that these visitors were newsboys. But what do you think of their being EDITORS? And what do you think of their tearing up to me and beginning to shake hands like madmen? Oh, if you could have seen how I wrung their wrists!'

Palmer had an hour's interview with Dickens at the Tremont House, and tells about it in the paper, though he reports nothing of what was said. He was the only newspaper man so favored.

The Transcript languished somewhat in quality during the Palmer interim. This temporary editor reeled off editorial articles of a canting sort previously or afterward unknown in the Transcript, on such subjects as 'Envy,' 'Labor,' 'Knowledge,' 'Idleness,' 'Improvement of Time,' 'Good Humor,' 'Parental Sympathy.' The editor was delighted with the literary quality of the Lowell Offering, the very good paper of the Lowell and Lawrence Yankee mill girls. 'It promises,' he said, 'to become the foremost literary journal of America.'

Palmer stepped out promptly on Walter's death, when

the dead editor's sister, Cornelia Wells Walter, then twenty-seven years of age — she was born in Boston June 7, 1815 — was made editor of the paper in her brother's place. That she had not already been able to assume this function was due to her constant attendance at her brother's bedside. She had, indeed, contributed a good deal to the paper, and had assisted her brother in many ways. But she was his nurse at the Belknap Street bedside, and read much to him, enabling him to maintain the fiction of his editorship to the last.

The Transcript said not a word about the assumption of the editorship by a woman for several months, but the fact at once became well known, and was favorably commented on not only by the other papers in Boston, but by journals elsewhere in the country. Nothing of disparagement or ridicule of the matter is to be found in the press of the time until Miss Walter fell afoul of Edgar Allan Poe in 1845. The Boston papers all spoke in the most complimentary terms of Miss Walter, describing her as the 'brilliant lady editor of the Transcript.' The interest of the Walters in the paper was well known. There seems to have been an agreement that the editorial conduct of the paper belonged to them by presumptive right. Miss Walter's editorial of New Year greeting on January 1, 1843 — a customary formality at that time — was a very personal document. She spoke of the late Lynde M. Walter as her brother, and of her duty, not sought, as the present editor, as 'a task of fraternal obligation.' She never went regularly to the office, but did her work mostly at the home in Belknap Street. That

Mr. Dutton, the publisher, now had a good deal to do with the ordinary editorship of the paper is indicated in a note which Miss Walter published in the paper, in which she spoke of the 'Elbow Chair of the Transcript,' celebrated in the writings of Walter, as 'now occupied by our senior publisher, a good man and true, who will look out for the best interests of our readers and advertising patrons, whilst we are remembering them hourly in the sanctuary of our home.' She became, however, more and more closely identified with the actual editorial and news work of the paper. But that there were some misgivings on the part of Messrs. Dutton and Wentworth, the publishers and owners of two thirds of the paper, is proved by the statement which they made on Miss Walter's withdrawal from the paper, to become the wife of William Boardman Richards, five years later. In a signed statement, September 1, 1847, they said: 'It was a great experiment to place a lady as the responsible editor of a daily paper. She made the trial with fear and trembling, and her success has been triumphant. She was quick to conceive an idea; her first thought was always the best; and consequently what flowed from her pen needed little or no alteration. As an editor, she was a woman of great resolution and high determination, and when she took ground, no flattering tongue could dissuade her from her purpose.'

This encomium, it is plain, truly described the 'lady editor.' In its pages, there was abundant evidence of improvement in the news quality of the paper under her hand. Everything brightened up. There was renewed

attention to matters of current news, and particularly in the field of literary, social, dramatic, and musical affairs. Boston now reveled not only in countless concerts, but in lectures by great and small on all subjects. Daily there were numerous advance lecture notices of the Lowell Institute, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the Mercantile Library Association, and the Boston Lyceum, as well as of meetings of the various reform societies. This surging up of intellectual and reform movements did not pass without some protest and reaction. The Transcript of November 7, 1842, has an earnest protest from a correspondent against 'noise and talk masquerading as eloquence.' Quoting Hooker in the words, 'our times are full of tongue and reek of brain,' this correspondent deplores 'the uproar, the noise and dust, the foolish babble.' But the lady editor laconically says of this 'uproar,' 'it will go on.' It did. On December 22, 1843, Miss Walter editorialized thus gleefully: 'Boston is a great city. There was, last evening, a lecture and a tea party at the Odeon — a concert at the Melodeon — a fair and tea party at Amory Hall — *something* at Ritchie Hall — a temperance meeting at Faneuil Hall — preaching in Park Street Church — dramatics at the Museum and at the National — a fair at Tremont Temple — a lecture at the Masonic — a concert at Washingtonian Hall, besides a meeting of the Common Council, and probably more religious meetings than we have time or room to name.' As a rule, all these proceedings were merely listed, not reported. Now and then a lecture was given

at some length. There was a deal too much in the paper of the dull lucubrations of a lecturer named Gliddon.

Following the rather weak position that the paper, under Lynde Walter, had fallen into over the Abolitionist campaign, and taking into consideration Miss Walter's deep veneration of her brother's character and record, there was courage in an utterance like this, found in a review of the story of his own life by Frederick Douglass, the Negro orator and lecturer, who was born in slavery. In this the editor says, May 30, 1845: 'The sun is soon to dawn upon its [Abolition's] anxious votaries. The time is past when men can fold their hands and say with truth, "We are neutrals in this matter."'

It is evident, upon careful examination of the Transcript of the year 1842, that the paper was as faithful a mirror of the time as is the usual paper of to-day. The Boston Museum, opened in 1841, was receiving much attention, and in July it advertised — the temperature on that day was 92° — its picture gallery as the coolest room in the city. The real estate movement in the South Cove was described as active, and the need of houses, with dwellings above and shops below, was noted. A fountain on the Common was called for. Word came from Washington, in July — it was made prominent — that the tariff, which was then under revision, would be all that the country needed both for revenue and protection. (But it was not.) Letters of Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, to the Minister of State of Mexico complained of the inaccuracy of that official in his remarks concerning the troubles on the

Texas border. The United States, Webster said, intended to live up to its conviction that Texas was an independent sovereignty. The Transcript meantime, July 18, noted the end of the strawberry season and also the appearance of green corn on the Norfolk House table. The enormous receipts from Fanny Elssler's dancing performances were noted. The Transcript discussed Transcendentalism, and advertised 'Transcendental Conversation Cards,' which 'contained the essence of love and gentility, doubly distilled and sublimated.' And at that time the advertising columns showed that one might hire delightful lodgings on Kilby Street, and could employ a boy of all work for seven dollars a month.

The Transcript, in March, 1845, removed from its birthplace on Exchange Street to 37 Congress Street, where it had ampler quarters.

The woman editor of the Transcript was very conservative in her views. She had no sympathy with women's rights as a political proposition. She was intensely religious. She opposed the preaching of Theodore Parker quite vehemently; on January 17, 1845, she had a long article warning her readers against Parker. 'For ourselves,' she said, 'we regard Mr. Parker's views as vitally dangerous — as subversive of that purity of faith which the Scriptures inculcate.' In January, 1846, Professor Asa Gray, in a lecture, made the statement that it was evident that the earth was not formed in six days or in six thousand years, but that millions of years must have gone to its forming. Immediately (January

17) the Transcript came out with an editorial article deprecating 'such speculations,' on the ground that 'they do much to shake a relying belief on the words of inspiration as given in the Book of Life. Philosophy is miserably perverted when it is made the vehicle of delusive and fantastic opinions. Such principles,' the article went on to say, 'operate in the moral world like volcanoes in the natural one; their internal action convulses the frame of society, until at length the public avowal of them, like an eruption, carries with it all that is venerable on earth and buries in one common ruin every higher attribute of man. Science is emphatically carried *too far*, when its far-pushed results become after all only *vain speculation*.' Nevertheless, Miss Walter was not entirely unprogressive. In 1843 she published an article setting forth the advantages of 'colleges for females,' which, she says, 'are scarcely known in the Eastern States.'

A very curious instance of Miss Walter's opposition to the liberal theology appears in the Transcript of October 16, 1846, in connection with a statement that at that date twenty-five Unitarian clergymen, ordained or installed as pastors of churches, received an aggregate amount of $42,000 yearly salary — 'not including Theodore Parker, as he does not acknowledge the inspiration and miracles of Christ!' That is to say, the Transcript for that reason refused to include him in a list of Unitarian ministers.

Miss Walter rather frowned on the literary efforts of new writers like Emerson and Lowell. January 17, 1844,

OLD VIEW OF THE CORNER OF STATE AND EXCHANGE STREETS, SHOWING WHERE THE TRANSCRIPT WAS FIRST PUBLISHED, IN 1830

CONGRESS STREET OFFICE OF THE TRANSCRIPT
1845–1860

the Transcript sharply attacked, in a review of James Russell Lowell's first book of poems, all the 'new poetry' of that time, to which, she assumed, this volume belonged. She said: 'A wilderness of mingled thorns, brambles, shrubs, flowers and trees scattered over with rocks and brawling streams, rather than an exquisitely arranged and beautiful garden, represents the poetry of the new school.' She demanded 'regularity and finish,' which Lowell's verses, in her opinion, did not possess. 'He pours out his rhymes too fast; he does not condense enough; nor file, polish, and perfect each piece before he writes another.' The only lines she commends are the following:

> 'Oh, moonlight, deep and tender
> A month and more agone;'

'and this,' she says, 'should not be *made public*!' (The italics are Miss Walter's.) Lowell's comparisons are 'strained, wild, extravagant.' A severe judgment all around.

Miss Walter also had her doubts about Emerson. In 1844, the Transcript printed prominently as a contribution a quite full report of a lecture by him (February 8) on 'Young America,' and she says editorially at the end of the report: 'We could have wished that there had been a more strict adherence to his theme, and a more positively *practical* bearing adducible from the discourse. Original thinkers are not always practical men, and they are sometimes led into unsupportable theories.'

It was at about this time that Miss Walter attained something like a national reputation by her attack on

Edgar Allan Poe, attendant upon his appearance in the Boston Lyceum lectures. Her sharpness of criticism had already attracted some attention. In June, 1844, the Transcript quoted an article from the New York Mirror, a literary journal with which N. P. Willis, Poe, and Epes Sargent were each at one time connected. The Mirror complimented the typographical appearance of the Transcript, saying: 'The type is captivating — a kind of piquant, well-bred brevier [it was really a minion] that catches the eye like a coquette in a ballroom. And this, be it noted, spite of the "burnt child's" prejudice, for the fair editor does not always put on her gloves before taking a tweak out of our immortality.' (The Transcript, not long before, had said, in commenting on an appearance of his in the Boston Lyceum lectures, that Willis was a good writer, but had not 'force enough either of mind or manner to appear well as a public speaker.' A palpable hit.)

Much heralded by advance notices, and widely known through the popularity of 'The Raven,' Poe had come to Boston, October 16, 1845. 'A poem by Edgar A. Poe' was the announcement in the advertisement of the Boston Lyceum. There was a full house, in spite of the remarkable counter-attraction of Hackett's appearance as Falstaff, a memorable dramatic event, at the Howard Athenæum the same night. Next day, the 17th, Miss Walter devoted her entire editorial attention to Poe. His appearance on the platform had been preceded by a lecture by Caleb Cushing, which was elsewhere reported at some length. This was Miss Walter's article:

A FAILURE. — The anniversary exercises before the Boston Lyceum last evening were heavy and uninteresting, and illy adapted as introductory to a course of lectures. Mr. Cushing's address was one long laudation upon America at the expense of Great Britain — a composition that seemed written rather for popular effect, than for the inference of sound judgment or the development of that high moral tone which should ever characterize all public exercises having for their theme any subject of national importance.

The address had been announced in the papers 'to be followed by A POEM,' and when the orator had concluded, an officer of the society introduced to the assembly a gentleman, who, as we understood him to say, possessed a *raven*-ous desire to be known as the author of a particular piece of poetry on a celebrated croaking bird well known to ornithologists. The poet immediately arose; but, if he uttered poesy in the first instance, it was certainly of a most prosaic order. The audience listened in amazement to a singularly didactic exordium, and finally commenced the noisy expedient of removing from the hall, and this long before they had discovered the style or the measure, or whether it was rhyme or blank verse. We believe, however, it was a prose introductory to a poem on the 'Star discovered by Tycho Brahe,' considered figuratively as the 'Messenger of the Deity,' out of which idea Edgar A. Poe had constructed a sentimental and imaginative poem. The audience now thinned so rapidly and made so much commotion in their departure that we lost the beauties of the composition. We heard the prefatory exordium, however (which we took to be *in prose*) and our thoughts upon it ran as follows:

> 'Twixt truth and poesy they say, there is a mighty schism;
> I'd like to be a *moral* man, and preach '*didacticism*' —
> But as truth and taste do not agree and I do surely know it,
> Let truth and morals go and be a *critic* and a poet.

As in some 'lower deeps' there lies another deep, so one poem was found to involve another last evening. The 'Star discovered by Tycho Brahe' was no sooner out of sight, than

the terrestrials who had watched its disappearance and were about to follow the same course, were officially urged to a further delay, and another small poem succeeded. This was 'The Raven' — a composition probably better appreciated by its author than by his auditory, and which has already gone the rounds of the press, followed by a most felicitous parody from another source. The parody, however, had not been announced as 'part of the entertainment,' and was 'unavoidably omitted.'

We are sorry to record a *failure* in these opening exercises of the Lyceum, though if the expression should seem too severe, we will retract the application and announce only a *suspension* — a suspension of interest merely, until the next lecture by Henry Norman Hudson.

Miss Walter did not content herself with this 'roast.' Next day, October 18th, she had this:

A PRODIGY. — It has been said by 'those who know,' that the poem delivered by Edgar A. Poe at the Lyceum, on Thursday evening, was *written before its author was twelve years old.* If the poet felt 'doubts of his ability in preparing a poem for a Boston audience,' at that early age, it is not to be wondered at that they were openly *expressed* (as a correspondent of a morning paper states) on Thursday evening. A poem delivered before a literary association of adults, as written by a boy! Only think of it! Poh! Poh!

She kept on squibbing Poe from day to day. Early in November, Poe came back at her, in an unquestionably churlish and vulgar tone, in his paper, the Broadway Journal. And Miss Walter reproduced in the Transcript every word of his comment, as if to prove him the greater blackguard. His answer is an ill-mannered classic. He spoke of the Transcript editor as 'that most beguiling of all little divinities, Miss Walter of the

Transcript.' This characterization may not have been so far out of the way, for in a tribute to Mrs. Richards, which was written for the Transcript in 1898, at the time of her death, Mrs. Caroline H. Dall wrote as follows: 'She was a woman of rare and peculiar beauty. She carried herself as few American women have been able to do — her shoulders well back, her step elastic, her face ardent and of so brilliant a color as to suggest artificial aid to those who did not know her.' Poe went on to say, in his article: 'The adorable creature has been telling a parcel of fibs about us. We shall never call a woman "a pretty little witch" again.' In the same article he lampooned Boston and the 'Frogpondians,' and said that he was ashamed of having been born in that city. Certainly Miss Walter's ire is now aroused. She has a hostile squib almost every day. As late as January 7 next the Transcript carried this verse, apropos of Poe's being compelled to dispose of the Broadway Journal:

> To trust in friends is but so-so,
> Especially when cash is low;
> The Broadway Journal's proved no go —
> *Friends* would not pay the pen of Poe.

As late as May 5, 1846, Miss Walter had the following on Poe, which shows how far the editors of that period, even in a paper, like the Transcript, which prided itself upon its quality, were willing to go in personal denunciation:

He [Poe] is a wandering specimen of the Literary Snob, continually obtruding himself upon public notice; to-day in

the gutter, to-morrow in some milliner's magazine; but in all places, and at all times, magnificently snobbish and dirty, who seems to invite the Punchy writers among us to take up their pens and impale him for public amusement. Mrs. Louisa Godey has lately taken this snob into her service in a neighboring city, where he is doing his best to prove his title to the distinction of being one of the lowest of his class at present infesting the literary world. Whenever seen in print his falsehoods are ever met by the reader with the simple exclamation — poh! — Poe!

The opinion she held was apparently general among the Boston papers, which stood up gallantly for Miss Walter in the controversy. And in their next annual report, published May 25, 1846, the trustees of the Boston Lyceum apologized to the public for the Poe appearance. They said: 'The Board had invited this person on the strength of his literary reputation, and were not aware of the eccentricities of his character. For the merit of his literary production, he, of course, is alone responsible. The public were disappointed as well as ourselves in the poem, and the subsequent abuse of our city and its institutions shows him to be an unprincipled man, while the venom which he ejected against us only defiled himself.' With the publication of this in the Transcript, Miss Walter seems to have dropped Poe forever. His sad death occurred during the editorial administration of her successor, Epes Sargent, and the circumstances were then related with an expression of sorrow and with every consideration of charity for Poe's weaknesses and of admiration for his genius. But the fact that the Transcript republished, at

Poe's death, a complimentary article about him from the New York Express, in which the statement was made that he was born in Richmond, Virginia, and not in Boston, and that the Transcript did not correct this statement, conveys a suggestion of a rather fine-haired *post-mortem* retaliation.

Miss Walter continued as editor until September 2, 1847 — a period of a little more than five years. She then retired, and was married, September 22, 1847, to Mr. William B. Richards. Her editorship coincided with certain notable developments in the history of the country, of Boston, and of American journalism. It included the whole period of the Mexican War, which Miss Walter sternly opposed. But she found little room in the paper for politics or for national affairs. She was interested in Boston and its songs and thoughts. The paper, however, opposed the Texas annexation and the war with many sharp paragraphs, and with articles quoted from other papers. A noteworthy date in Boston journalism was the appearance on November 12, 1846, of the first dispatch 'By Magnetic Telegraph.' This dispatch gave the result of an election in Delaware, a few stock prices in New York, and one or two other matters. Telegraphic dispatches were not regularly published, and it was long before they began to supplant fuller news advices copied from papers at other points. In 1846 Dr. Morton's discovery of anæsthetics was no sooner recorded than its publication was followed by the breaking out of a controversy as to whether he or Dr. Wells or Dr. Jackson was rightfully entitled to the

credit for the discovery. From time to time the development of new streets on what was still called 'the Neck,' but which afterward became known as the South End, was chronicled. Local news reports became more common. A whole column of 'local items' began to appear. A series of accounts of receipts and expenditures of the Transcript, submitted in 1852 in connection with an arbitration to determine the value of the interest of the Walters in the Transcript, shows that the office then employed two reporters, at a cost to the concern, for both of them, of eleven dollars a week. Miss Walter had a fine *flair* for the pleasant miscellany with which the papers of that day were largely filled, and she printed a great deal of poetry, original and selected.

The office accounts above referred to, which are now preserved in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, also show that Miss Walter's salary as editor was five hundred dollars a year. That was apparently also the salary of her predecessor and brother. Mrs. Richards had five children, one of whom, William Reuben Richards, the last to survive, was educated at Harvard and in Germany, became a lawyer, was for three years a member of the City Council, was secretary of the Boston Athenæum and a trustee of the Boston Public Library, and was influential in the building of the existing Public Library. He compiled the names to be inscribed on the exterior of that building; they were afterward sifted by Dr. C. W. Eliot. Richards died in 1912.

Mrs. Richards's retirement from the Transcript led to the publication of hundreds of notices and encomiums in the American press. The multiplicity of Boston newspapers in 1847 is suggested by the list of Boston papers which praised her warmly at the time of her resignation. They were the Courier, Atlas, Advertiser, Post, Bee, Mail, Star, Times, Traveller, Journal, Herald, Signal, all dailies, and the Whig and the Chronotype, weeklies. She lived long in virtual retirement, occasionally contributing to the Transcript under the editorship of her two next successors, Epes Sargent and Daniel N. Haskell. She lived in Marlborough Street, Boston, practising the most agreeable rites of hospitality, and died January 31, 1898.

CHAPTER VII

INTRODUCING THE RAILWAY

The Transcript's Joy over the First Locomotive — A Calamitous Inaugural Excursion — The Scorn of Samuel Breck — Step by Step the Miracle of Transportation Wrought.

It was the fortune of the Transcript to witness the inception and full development of the railway in America. In its earliest numbers the paper had occasional items of information as to the formation of companies for building railroads in Massachusetts, and brief accounts of the various projects. It paid particular attention to the schemes of Thomas Handasyd Perkins, great merchant and financier, who was conspicuously influential in the organization of companies and the provision of funds for such development. It was not, however, until March 27, 1834, that the paper was able to announce that the rails on the Boston and Worcester Railroad had been laid as far as Newton (nine or ten miles) and were ready for use. April 4, in that year, the Transcript had this glowing article:

> Crowds of people assembled at the Tremont Street terminus of the Worcester railroad to witness the operation of the Locomotive Engine. It was the first time we ever saw one in motion, and we candidly confess that we cannot describe the singular sensation we experienced, except by comparing it with that which one feels when anticipation is fulfilled and hope realized. We noted it as marking the accomplishment of one of the mighty projects of the age, and the mind, casting its eye back upon the past, as it was borne irresistibly onward, lost itself in contemplation of the probable future.

This locomotive ran on the railroad as far as Davis's Tavern in Newton, eight or nine miles; it was accompanied by a party of the directors and fifty or sixty other people for the purpose of making a trial of the engine and an examination of the road. The engine traveled with ease at the rate of twenty miles an hour — for a time; but a connecting rod was broken and much delay encountered. Things did not, indeed, go altogether well for the new invention. On April 11, the Transcript recorded, with an appearance of great concern, the fact that Mr. Henry H. Fuller and wife, of Newton, were thrown from a chaise by coming in contact with the locomotive of the Boston and Worcester near Angier's Corner. Their vehicle was upset and the elderly couple were very seriously injured. Mr. Fuller said he 'knew that the engine was approaching, but did not think it was so near.' The engineman believed that 'everybody was aware of his approach.' Notwithstanding this episode, a public trip or excursion, to signalize the opening of the railway to Newton, was announced for April 18, 1834. There was enormous public interest, but the excursion was hardly a success. The Transcript recorded it 'on the authority of a party who went to Newton on the railroad, and returned as opportunity offered.' It does not seem to have occurred to the editor either to go himself on the excursion or to send a reporter. But he proceeds with his story:

A great number of persons, we should judge nearly 200, assembled yesterday afternoon at the depot of this road, 617

Washington Street, for the excursion. At the appointed time the engine set off, carrying with it eight passenger cars, in gallant style. After passing over the viaduct across the full basin, it was evident to the passengers that the velocity of the train had considerably diminished, and it continued to decrease until about two miles from Angier's Corner, where the whole train came to a stand. The reason given by those in authority was that the engine (Long's) was made to burn coal instead of wood, and the steam would not rise sufficiently fast to carry so many cars. To obviate this difficulty, the three last cars were unhitched, and the engine and other cars proceeded on. The passengers in the cars left behind were obliged therefore to get out and push their cars on the road a distance of about a mile, until they came up with the engine, when they were again attached, and the train proceeded at about the rate of five miles an hour to Newton. Great joy was manifested by the passengers at the success of this experiment and of the pleasure to be derived from a ride on the railroad.

The passengers had all paid seventy-five cents for an excursion to Newton and back, but the train could not get back, and they had to hire their return transportation. As this was scarce, some of them paid as much as four dollars for a carriage. It was explained by the management the next day that the engine had been disabled by a board nail that had got into the safety valve, causing the steam to be wasted. Next day fifty-one of the disappointed passengers were given a ride out to Newton and back free and the engine worked all right. The Boston and Worcester on April 28, 1834, began advertising regular trips to Newton daily, at 10 A.M. and 3½ P.M., leaving Newton on the return at 11.15 and 4.45. Tickets each way were 37½ cents —

BOSTON AND WORCESTER RAILROAD. The Passenger Cars will continue to run daily from the Depot near Washington street to Newton, at 6 and 10 o'clock A. M, and at 3½ o'clock P. M.

Returning leave Newton at 7 and a quarter past 11 A. M, and a quarter before 5 P. M.

Tickets for the passage, either way, may be had at the Ticket Office, No 17 Washington street, price 37½ cents each, and for the return passage, of the Master of Cars, at Newton. By order of the President and Directors.

may 10 1stf F. A. WILLIAMS, Clerk.

HOPKINTON SPRINGS DAILY COACH leaves Southern and Western Stage Office, 36 Hanover street, Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at 7 o'clock A. M and arrives at the Springs at ½ past 12; on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at 8 A. M, and arrives at the Springs at ½ past 1 P. M.

june 9 tf F. A. BILLINGS, Agent.

BOSTON AND HINGHAM. SUMMER ARRANGEMENT. THREE TRIPS A DAY. The Steamboat GEN'L LINCOLN, Capt George Beal, will leave Foster's wharf, Boston, every day (Sundays excepted) at 9 o'clock A. M, and at 3 and 6½ P. M.

Will leave Hingham at 6½ and 11½ o'clock A. M, and at 5 P. M.

Passage 37½ cents.

Carriages will be in readiness on the arrival of the Boat at Hingham, to convey passengers to any part of that and most of the neighboring towns.

For further particulars apply to the Captain on board, to A. Fearing & Co. No 1 City wharf, or to the subscriber.

June 7 ts1¶ D. WHITON, Director.

NAHANT STAGE. A Stage will leave Nahant every morning, (commencing on Tuesday, June 30) at 6½ o'clock, (Sundays excepted) to meet the 9 o'clock Boston Stage at the Lynn Hotel. Leave Lynn Hotel at 10 o'clock A. M, for Nahant, leave Nahant at 3½ o'clock, for Lynn Hotel; leave Lynn Hotel at 7 o'clock P. M. For seats apply at the Salem Stage Office, City Tavern, Brattle street.

tf june 2

HOLT'S HOTEL.

The above is a correct representation of the splendid edifice, which is one of the most prominent buildings in New York. Finding in the Mercantile Advertiser, of that city, the detailed description of the Hotel, which we subjoin, we procured of our friend Bower, the neat wood cut, which ornaments our columns, as an appropriate appendage to the account.

THE FIRST RAILROAD ADVERTISEMENT (MAY 10, 1835) AND THE FIRST ILLUSTRATION USED IN THE TRANSCRIPT

the return ticket to be had of the 'master of the cars' at Newton. Thus was steam transportation inaugurated in Boston.

Incredulous people were inclined to scoff at the invention. But railway construction and improvement now proceeded with rapidity. Imported Irish labor was employed almost exclusively in the building of the new lines. There were riots, as we have already noted, between the Yankees and the Irish along the lines and between the Irish 'Cork men' and the 'Fardowners.' Sometimes the papers paid more attention to these riots than they did to the constructive enterprises of which they were an incident.

In the month of June, 1835, the Boston and Providence road was opened through to Providence and the Boston and Lowell to Lowell, and on July 4 of the same year the Boston and Worcester was opened to Worcester. These were the pioneer roads. They were built by engineers who had never seen the English railways, but the first locomotives were imported from England. The lines went, as a rule, around the hills to avoid tunnels. The first advertisement of the Lowell road is headed by a cut which shows that the rolling stock had been somewhat improved since the opening of the Worcester road to Newton. There was general rejoicing as well as universal wonder. There were also complaints. In August, 1835, the Transcript published letters attacking the management of the Providence line. The cars, it was stated, were incapable of protecting the passengers against rain, and they were 'crowded beyond their

capacity.' The conductors were represented as surly and unaccommodating. The owners of the road wrote promising improvement, which was evidently granted, as complaints ceased. The paper contained frequent statements regarding the extraordinary speed of travel achieved. In July, 1835, it had this item:

SO WE GO. — A gentleman who breakfasted in West Point yesterday morning was in Boston last night at half past ten.

Not all of this journey could have been made by rail, as the lines were not yet extended to the Hudson. But not everything ran smoothly on the rails. January 26, 1836, the Transcript said:

The train which, well filled with passengers, left Lowell at 4 p.m. yesterday, got half way to Boston when the locomotive was disengaged from the cars and came on to Boston, leaving the cars in the woods. The passengers remained till 7 o'clock this morning, when they set out on foot for town, where they arrived at 12 o'clock this day, with a tolerable appetite for their last night's supper.

Ice on the track caused this mishap. Serious accidents on the lines began to be reported. They filled the public with indignation as well as with alarm. June 29, 1836, a collision took place between two passenger trains on the Providence railroad, resulting in injuries to many sailors who were being transported over the line. The Transcript denounced this accident as a 'positive crime.' Its report shows that in 1836 the driver and conductor of a train had no means whatever of knowing what was coming, on the single track then universal, from the op-

posite direction. 'The conductor,' said the general superintendent in a signed statement to the press, 'knew that *it was possible* that he might encounter the steamboat train for Providence, and proceeded cautiously, but as the other train came on he could not bring his train to a stop in time.' The result was a head-on collision. This explanation was hardly reassuring to the traveling public as to their usual safety on the train. But improvements went on. In the winter of 1836–37 the Worcester railroad put on one warmed car for each train. The Transcript says that this car was at once filled with men; women coming aboard, with young children, were forced to take seats in a cold car.

Not everybody, by any means, was delighted with the new means of transportation. Crawford's 'Romantic Days in Boston' quotes this interesting criticism of the railway from the diary of Samuel Breck; he wrote (July 22, 1835) as follows:

> This morning at 9 o'clock I took passage in a railroad car from Boston for Providence. Five or six other cars were attached to the 'loco' and uglier boxes I do not wish to travel in. They were huge carriages made to stow away some thirty human beings who sit cheek by jowl as best they can. The rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the polite and the vulgar, all herd together in this modern improvement in traveling, which destroys every salutary distinction of society and overturns by its whirligig power the once rational, gentlemanly and safe way of getting along on a journey.
>
> Talk of ladies on board of a steamboat or in a railroad car! There are none. I never feel like a gentleman there. To restore herself to her caste, let a lady move in select company at

five miles an hour and take her meals in comfort at a good inn. The old-fashioned way, with one's own horses and carriage, with liberty to dine decently in a decent inn and be master of one's movements, with the delight of seeing the country and getting along rationally — that is the mode to which I cling.

All mishaps, mischances, and inconveniences were merely incidental to the achievement of greater convenience and efficiency. One railroad was put through after another — generally for local service and as the result of local investment, though the greater part of the stock of the Boston and Providence was taken by New York capitalists. Through service was little thought of. Passengers going to Springfield went by the Boston and Worcester to Worcester and then changed cars and proceeded by the Western Railroad. If they were bound for Bellows Falls, they changed from the Fitchburg road to the Cheshire road at Fitchburg. By the year 1851 there were twenty-five separate companies and as many independent railroads operating in New England.

No newspaper, no public authority, had ever witnessed a more rapid or a more sweeping economic or social development than that which was now realized in Boston between 1834, when the first locomotive made its appearance, and 1851, when on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of September a great celebration commemorative of the completion of the lines of railway connecting the city with Canada and the West was held in Boston. This Railroad Jubilee of 1851, in which Mr. Daniel N.

Haskell, member of the Boston City Council for Ward 8, who was soon to become the editor of the Transcript, and who was profoundly interested in the practical development of the city, served as chairman of the committee of invitation, was the greatest celebration Boston had ever had up to that date. By 1851, in Massachusetts alone a thousand miles of railroad had been opened for travel, and beyond the limits of the State a thousand more were in connection with them, at a cost of a hundred million dollars. Montreal could now be reached by rail on the northward, Chicago to the westward, and Washington — with a steamboat ride from New York to Perth Amboy, New Jersey — to the southward. The celebration of 1851 was arranged for Boston's glory, and it greatly contributed to it. It was attended by the President of the United States, Millard Fillmore, and two now forgotten members of his cabinet. All these made addresses. Present also were Lord and Lady Elgin, the Governor-General of Canada and his wife, and a number of Canadian officials. The heads of the Government of the United States and of Canada were welcomed by Governor George S. Boutwell, Senator Daniel Webster, President Henry Wilson of the Massachusetts Senate, Speaker Nathaniel P. Banks, the Honorable Edward Everett, the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, and Mayor John Prescott Bigelow. There were receptions by the dozen, at which many great speeches were made, for Massachusetts and Boston were very rich in orators at that time; there was a grand dinner at the Revere House at which the past and

future glories of Boston were celebrated. The President of the United States and the Governor-General of Canada, as well as the Honorable Daniel Webster, were all quartered at the Revere House. At the grand banquet the distinguished Englishmen and Canadians were, of course, abundantly informed that they were at the Hub of the Universe. Two or three speakers ventured to predict that Boston would become the largest and most important city in the United States. Daniel Webster told the distinguished strangers that 'the time is coming when America shall command the ocean, both oceans, and all oceans.' He regaled his fellow countrymen with a story of an eminent Bostonian, Mr. John Lowell, who, after the War of 1812, was dining with some friends in England, when one of the Englishmen present said: 'Well, Mr. Lowell, your country may, for aught I know, reach the height of elevation which you predict, but I trust we Europeans may yet be able to cross the seas.' 'Certainly, sir,' replied Mr. Lowell, 'but do not wonder if some day you shall hear us say, "By our leave!"'

After 1851 the development of the railroads of Massachusetts was one of consolidation and improvement rather than of rapid extension. There are not so many railroads now as there were then. But they are certainly more convenient, more rapid, and more competent in every conceivable respect.

CHAPTER VIII

THE POET EDITOR

Under Epes Sargent, Man of Letters, the Transcript Opposes the Mexican War and Grows Kinder to the Abolitionists — Enter the Telegraph — The Great Water Celebration — Æsthetic Development.

The next editor of the Transcript (1847–1853) following Miss Walter, was Epes Sargent, who was an author of wide reputation in his time, and of enormous production. The titles of his numerous original works, compilations, prefacings, and translations fill fifty cards in the Boston Public Library Catalogue. Born at Gloucester, September 29, 1813, he was of the same distinguished family as John Singer Sargent, the painter, and Professor Charles Sprague Sargent, the arborologist, founder and long director of the Arnold Arboretum. Epes Sargent, too, was a Harvard man, and had been connected with the Daily Advertiser and the Atlas, as well as editor of the New York Mirror. He had attained a reputation as a dramatist as well as a general literary worker. Dutton and Wentworth were at the time publishing a volume of his poems, as they subsequently published several other of his books. His advent as editor was warmly hailed by the publishers of the Transcript in a statement in the paper, very flattering to him. It was a noteworthy accession.

The Transcript under Mr. Sargent was distinctly an organ of culture. In its columns extracts printed in

French were by no means rare. There was much discussion and record of literary and dramatic matters; there were also long lists of announcements of society meetings, lectures, and so forth. The Lyceum System of lectures, certainly an important element in the national education, was now fully launched. Mr. Sargent cared little for party politics, but the paper under his hands showed an increasing tenderness toward the Abolitionists, though Sargent at first displeased the anti-slavery people by reading, before the Mechanics' Association in Providence, in November, 1847, a poem which lightly ridiculed the abounding reformers and philanthropists of his day — temperance and anti-slavery agitators, the Peace and Non-resistant people, even the Prisoners' Friends movement. In the Liberator he was rebuked for this poem, which was genuinely humorous. Boston reform had little sense of humor.

Strangely enough, though Sargent had a streak of academic liberalism in him, paragraphs friendly to the Irish people altogether ceased during his administration, and a certain leaning was betrayed toward the Native American or Know-Nothing Party. In November, 1847, Sargent protested against the proposed removal of the city almshouse from South Boston to Deer Island, saying:

> What justice can there be in this measure, we are unable to see. Our almshouse at South Boston is an institution especially designed for the support of the *American* poor, and not as a rendezvous for British paupers. Now because it has been perverted from its original design and made to subserve the

EPES SARGENT
Editor 1847–1853

interests of foreign states, is it right that it be removed, and our native poor transported to Deer Island, there to mingle with the diseased hordes from Great Britain?

The Transcript went on to maintain that if there was to be an almshouse at Deer Island, it should be 'only for foreigners.' Natives, it said, should not be 'subjected to the evils of direct association with foreign paupers.' As a response to this, what could be finer than the remark of a poor Irish recipient of the city's grudged sustenance on the Island — a response which the Transcript admitted to its columns — that 'he had the intention of giving it up and going over to the Famine'?

Mr. Sargent sharply blamed the Mexican War, and continued the paper's attacks on President Polk, who, on his visit to Boston in 1847, with his Secretary of State, James Buchanan, at his side, was very coldly received. 'As James K. Polk passed through our streets,' said the Transcript, 'every attempt at cheers was a failure, and the hearts of the mass were as cold to him as the marble that lies unused beneath Pentelicus.' The paper denounced Polk as 'the man who had embroiled the country in a frightful war and stained our southern frontier with blood and carnage.'

About this time the Transcript began a crusade against the 'telegraph monopoly,' complaining of the news service — the charge of which the newspapers themselves had not yet assumed — and of the neglect of private messages by the operators. It was in April, 1848, that a combination consisting of the Advertiser, Courier, Atlas, Post, Whig and Times, morning papers,

and the Transcript, Journal, and Traveller, evening papers, was formed to buy of the telegraph company a service consisting of a quantity of foreign news, received at New York by steamers. After this, the telegraph company sold the exclusive right to this news service to the Times alone. The Transcript earnestly protested. For two days it had no telegraphic report. The report was then resumed, indicating that some arrangement was reached. The Transcript contained a good deal of criticism of Francis J. O. Smith, the head of the telegraph company, and he responded in an explanatory communication which did not explain much. House and Bain's system now came into competition with Smith's, and matters seemed to have improved. At the same time the interest in ordinary local news was daily gaining.

Mr. Sargent devoted the usual space — which had never been lacking in the Transcript — to musical and dramatic matters. The paper pontificated a good deal in this field, and the Boston Times of June 6, 1848, published a list of (mock) regulations for the Italian opera (Howard Athenæum) of which this is number five: 'All disbelievers in the infallibility of the Transcript will be handed over to the proper officers.' 'A proper regulation,' commented the Transcript. Sargent praised Emerson's essays highly — thereby reversing the judgment of his ultra-conservative predecessor, Miss Walter. But he severely rebuked the attendance at an 'anti-Sabbath convention,' in January, 1848, which was addressed by Theodore Parker, William

Lloyd Garrison, and Parker Pillsbury. One thing which the Transcript had occasion to record, January 3, 1848, was the first public appearance of Daniel Noyes Haskell, its future and long-time editor. Mr. Haskell delivered before the Mercantile Library Association a vigorous address, from which the following is an extract: 'We have too many resolutions — too little action. The Acts of the Apostles is the title of one of the books of the Scriptures — their Resolutions have not reached us.' In February the paper was in heavy mourning over the death of the heroic old statesman, John Quincy Adams, stricken by paralysis while in the full discharge of his duty in the national House of Representatives. The gift of Sargent for satire was shortly after evinced in an account of the dinner given at the Revere House to the committee of Congress who came on to attend Adams's funeral. The report had gone around that the committee were given wine to drink at this dinner, and worse — that they had a pâté de foie gras! The Transcript's comments were in mock denunciation. It called for nothing less than a congressional investigation!

In July, 1848, the Transcript had an opportunity to justify its strenuous opposition to the Mexican War. The Massachusetts regiment of volunteers returned in that month from Vera Cruz, and was in camp at Brighton. The paper described the returning soldiers as 'the most heaven-forsaken set of men ever seen in the old Bay State.' Their condition was the extreme of wretchedness. Half-starved and sick, several of them had died on the journey homeward from Vera Cruz. The miser-

able survivors received immediate succor from the people of Boston, and had a big public reception. The general indignation over their treatment ran high.

Probably the Transcript office never ranked higher as a social centre than it did during Epes Sargent's editorship. It was in reference to this period that Amos F. Learned, who had been for eight years an apprentice, printer, and proof-reader on the paper, wrote as follows from New York in a letter read at the celebration of the Transcript's fiftieth birthday in 1880:

> What a great resort the old editorial room used to be for men in literature, in art, in the forum, in finance, etc.! Among the many, I remember the kindly, genial face of Uncle Gilbert, the banker; Charles Sprague, the poet banker; Peele Dabney, the antiquarian, who used to kill midges on the window pane with his forefinger; Edward Everett, who often has explained the derivation of words to me; Daniel Webster, who seemed to be pleased to rotate from the Atlas to the Transcript editorial rooms; Professors Longfellow, Walker and Felton, who used to drop in sometimes with Dr. Palmer of the Advertiser; Tom Hyer, also, on returning from England, paid his respects to Mr. Sargent; Starr King and his wife made the editorial room bright and jolly, with James T. Fields, the day the latter returned from Halifax, seasick, and received the sallies of Mr. Haskell. There were many others, then celebrities, who found pleasure and profit in occasional interviews with the editor, and with the genial, warm-hearted proprietor.

A regular feature of the daily papers of this time was still the Editorial Puff. In an editorial position, and evidently written by the hand of the chief editor, there were almost daily praises of some advertised commodity. Epes Sargent put a new and poetic touch upon these

deliverances. Here is an example of his work in this line from the Transcript of May 25, 1848:

> We are, incontinently, in luck to-day. Our sanctum is made odorous with the aromatic fragrance of ripe Strawberries from the South. The first favor came from our northern neighbor, I. Mason Learned, Congress Street, No. 31, and consisted of a full box of Early Virginias, a bowl of powdered sugar, and a bottle of rich cream. Favor No. 2 came from our neighbor from the south, Edward Perkins, Congress Street, No. 43, and consisted of ditto, ditto, ditto. Fortune, they say, 'never comes with both hands full;' she has certainly done so to-day, and to her agents our thanks are due. Friends who dine at either of these establishments to-day, or during the season of these luxuries, will always find them supplied with the best and freshest fruit by way of dessert.

In 1848 the city refused to take care of any street that was less than thirty feet in width. The result was that the narrow streets were left to harbor any rubbish and refuse that might be thrown into them. Disease was rife. The Transcript agitated for city sanitation, as it had long agitated, under the previous editors, for an adequate supply of pure water. The city water was now coming — the Cochituate works were under way. The Frog Pond was drained and cleaned up in anticipation of the new supply. Previously it had been supplied with water from the drainage of Beacon Street. The Transcript said that the frogs had all been poisoned to death — that 'no respectable frog belonging to the upper ten would think of bathing in it.' But a matter-of-fact contributor explained that the frogs had perished in the early forties as the result of putting a granite

curb around the pond, which prevented them from getting out and taking their necessary travel about the lawns. At last, October 12, 1848, the Cochituate water supply was let on, with a grand celebration. This was one of the great events in the history of the city. The Transcript gives a long and brilliant account of it, with much attention to the part taken in it by Mayor Josiah Quincy, Jr. There was a notable military parade — always a feature of public celebrations at this time. Enormous crowds, gathered about the Frog Pond, watched the turning on of the water in a great fountain-jet. Over the whole was a vast placard with these texts from the Bible: 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters,' and 'The springs of the hills have come unto us to refresh us.' A great show was made by the temperance societies. Addresses of great length were delivered, and then the water was turned on; a vast jet arose to the sound of 'Old Hundred' sung by the multitude. The excitement was intense. Fireworks illuminated the fountain at night. The Transcript had five columns about it.

General emotion ruled now. The presidential election occurred in the same year, and presently came the discovery of gold in California. Not one single issue of the paper in 1849 but contained some glowing story of gold, or of the departure of the Argonauts. One excitement followed another. The anti-slavery agitation filled in all the gaps. The gay banter of the editors, one against the other, was over. The town seemed to have entered upon a period of fever, or a series of paroxysms.

In the midst of it all came the cholera. There were hundreds of deaths in New York City. Governor Briggs appointed a day of fasting and prayer (for August 3, 1849) in Massachusetts, against the pestilence. President Taylor followed suit by appointing a national fast. There was a considerable prevalence of cholera in Boston, but the visitation was not so severe here as elsewhere; the city's comparative immunity was attributed to the new water supply.

Through all the excitement Boston kept up its artistic and literary interests. In March, 1849, we find, in Longfellow's journal, Charles Sumner visiting at Longfellow's house, and copying the sonnet which Longfellow had written on Fanny Kemble Butler's reading of Shakespeare, in order to take it to Sargent, who published it prominently in the Transcript of March 12th. But the literary lights of Boston and Cambridge on the whole held their heads high above mere newspaper men. When Emerson, on November 20, 1852, gave a little dinner at the Tremont House to Arthur Hugh Clough, his guests were Longfellow, Horatio Greenough, Sumner, Lowell, Hawthorne, Samuel G. Ward, and Theodore Parker — possibly one or two others; no 'journalists.' Lowell, it may be remembered, was a very earnest anti-slavery man, but Longfellow records in his journal that in 1846 Mrs. Lowell said of the Abolitionists: 'They do not modulate their voices. They are like people who live with the deaf or near waterfalls, and whose voices have become high and harsh.' Most people were indeed deaf — to Abolition-

ism — in 1846. And though they were moulding the nation, and everybody was afraid of them, the journalists were not of social consequence.

It was no doubt due to the influence of Sargent that on the 30th of May, 1849, the Transcript gave of the proceedings of the anniversary meeting of the anti-slavery society an account which was the paper's first full and glowingly favorable report of an anti-slavery meeting. This meeting was highly emotional. Six fugitive slaves were exhibited — among them Henry Brown, who had been shipped north in a packing box as freight, and on one occasion had been stood on his head on a railway platform until he fainted. Garrison denounced the Free Soil Party and Wendell Phillips defended it.

Mr. Sargent's career as an editor came to an end, which was rather a gentle end for an exciting period in public affairs, on February 21, 1853, on account, as he phrased it in a statement in the paper, of his 'literary and other engagements.' His health had not been altogether good, and the purely literary career was very congenial to him. He must have carried on a considerable amount of outside literary work during his editorship, for it was within that period that his compilation of 'American Adventures by Land and Sea' was published, and in the same period he edited several volumes of his Lives of American Statesmen.

Assuredly not all was poetry in Boston during the administration of Mr. Sargent. It was within that period (November 23, 1849) that the most astonishing

Supposed Discovery of Dr Parkman's Body! Horrible Suspicions!!

ARREST of Prof J. W. WEBSTER!

Since last evening, our whole population has been in a state of the greatest possible excitement in consequence of the astounding rumor that the body of Dr Parkman has been discovered, and that Dr John W. Webster, Professor of Chemistry in the Medical School of Harvard College, and a gentleman connected by marriage with some of our most distinguished families, has been arrested and imprisoned, on suspicion of being the murderer. Incredulity, then amazement, and then blank, unspeakable horror have been the emotions, which have agitated the public mind as the rumor has gone on, gathering countenance and confirmation. Never in the annals of crime in Massachusetts has such a sensation been produced.

In the streets, in the market-place, at every turn, men greet each other with pale, eager looks, and the inquiry, "Can it be true?" And then as the terrible reply, "the circumstances begin to gather weight against him," is wrung forth, the agitated listener can only vent his sickening sense of horror, in some such expression as that of Hamlet,—

REPORT OF A FAMOUS MURDER
December 1, 1849

BY MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH.

3 O'Clock P. M.

[From our own Correspondent.]

The Telegraph brings dates from Monterey to the 16th of October. Lieut Graham and 48 men are dead. The army is inactive, waiting orders. A volunteer shot a Mexican officer through the breast as he was taking leave of Gen Worth; he will be hung. Lieut Armstrong was despatched from Monterey for Washington on the 12th Oct. Two mails for the army have been captured by the Mexicans.

Santa Ana is at St Louis Potosi; he is quiet and justifies the course of Ampudia. The fever and ague is spreading through the army. Commodore Conner is preparing another attack on Alvarado. The neutrality of Yucatan is ended. A Yucatan vessel had been seized at New Orleans by the U. S. Marshal.

The election returns from Iowa are favorable to the Whigs.

The Utica Telegraph announces that Mr Beach the Whig Senator elect is dead.

Stocks at New York are all down. Norwich 63, Reading 62½, Long Island 31.

THE FIRST TELEGRAPHIC DESPATCH
November 12, 1846

and dreadful of all Boston's murders took place — the murder of Dr. George Parkman by Professor John White Webster of the Harvard Medical School. This crime caused the most extraordinary sensation throughout the country. It was cold-blooded in the most remarkable degree. Yet even in its initial account of it, which was probably written by Sargent himself, the chronicler could not help quoting Shakespeare — as the accompanying reproduction of the opening portion of the account shows. For a long time the columns of the paper were more or less full of the developments connected with the case. And again the paper had a severe task when, on August 3, 1850, Professor Webster expiated his terrible crime on the gallows. When the event came, the Transcript heroically faced the news requirement of the time, which was for the fullest presentation of all the horrors of the execution. The account occupied three columns. There was a full description of the swaying of the murderer's body, with the 'spasmodic drawing up of the legs.'

The Transcript in 1852 supported Fillmore for President, but it could not stomach his administration's surrender to the slave power, or Webster's bitterly disappointing Seventh of March speech. Mr. Sargent, in all except his leaning toward Native Americanism, took a rather advanced position for the time. He eloquently protested against a reduction by the city government of the salaries of women teachers in the public schools below the figures paid to men. The Transcript said that the women teachers' salaries ought

to have been increased, not reduced. The expenses of the women, it said, were the same as those of the men — they had as much to pay for transportation, for food, and for clothing. 'In nothing,' it said, 'does the woman enjoy immunity from expense.' It is very likely that in taking this view Editor Sargent was influenced by the principles and the opinions of Mr. Dutton, the proprietor, who from the first and always insisted upon paying his female compositors, whom he was the first to employ on a daily paper, the same rate that was paid to the men.

Sargent had a very pleasant humor. In January, 1848, there appeared a little satirical article about a performance of the opera, written in the first person, which was evidently from his pen. 'I was at the opera last night,' he said, 'for the first time since my return from Paris. I won't say anything about the music, for I could not enjoy it, seeing as I did the large number of individuals that had been admitted without white kids. Nay, there were persons present — calling themselves gentlemen, I will venture to say — who did not sport a moustache. Now what is Italian opera without white kids and a moustache? But there were more abominations still. Persons were present in horrid frock coats and white overalls, and other unmentionable garments. The ladies, too, were all dressed too high in the neck. I can't patronize the opera until these things are reformed.' A sign of Sargent's perspicacity was the following remark, made at about the same time: 'Nothing can be more dismal than the "funny periodicals" got

up in this country in imitation of "Punch." It is refreshing to turn from one of them to Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," or "Edwards on the Will."'

That it was, in Sargent's time, a certain derogation from a literary man's dignity to be a newspaper man, we may judge from this entry in H. W. Longfellow's journal, August 31, 1849:

> Shabby paragraph in the newspaper about ——. These newspaper correspondents have become the greatest nuisance. Every nook and corner is infested with them, destroying all privacy and proclaiming to the world the color of your gloves and the style of your shoes.

Sargent accepted spiritualism. For a time the paper was full of reports of the 'Rochester rappings.' Sargent did not in the paper declare his belief in the rappings, but he defended spiritism and its phenomena in several books or pamphlet publications, including a brochure called 'The Scientific Basis of Spiritualism,' published by Colby and Rich, the publishers of the Spiritualistic Banner of Light weekly, now extinct.

During Mr. Sargent's editorship the Transcript found itself under the necessity of contributing to the excitement preceding and attending the appearance of Jenny Lind in her first great concert. This affair Mr. Barnum managed particularly well in the respect of publicity. The stirring up of public interest in advance left absolutely nothing to be desired. For all this preliminary publicity Mr. Barnum paid not a cent. Literally for years there had been paragraphs and articles about the great singer, which wrought the public curiosity and

admiration up to the screaming point. The public actually demanded these articles, and the papers copied them from one another greedily. The result was that when Jenny Lind, under Mr. Barnum's auspices, sang in the old Fitchburg Railroad station, in December, 1851, the whole town, including Longfellow, Holmes, and Charles Sumner, flocked there to hear her.

The Transcript's business steadily increased during this period. It was enlarged in size, and in 1850 replaced its Adams press with a new Hoe press, which was capable of turning off five thousand papers in an hour — printing them first on one side and then on the other. But it is quite possible that the notable commercial and industrial development through which Boston was passing logically called for a more practical and business-like editorial head for the paper than Mr. Sargent had been, and that the Duttons — James Wentworth having died in 1847 — were aware of this when their choice fell upon Daniel Noyes Haskell as Sargent's successor.

CHAPTER IX

THE MID-VICTORIAN TRANSCRIPT

A New and a Material Era, and an Editor to Express it — A Crusader Against Abuses — Enter the South End and the Back Bay — A Know-Nothing Mayor — Farewell to Slavery.

An era went out in the early fifties of the nineteenth century — an era not only in the history of the Transcript but in that of Boston itself and even the whole country. For the Transcript, it meant the end of the classical-academic flavor, of the Elegant Extract, of the editorial 'as we were walking around the Common last evening.' A business man, hard-headed, serious, inclined to be statistical, took the chair that immediately before him had been occupied by a poet; before the poet, by a charming lady; before her, by a young man about town who was also a learned pundit. The shift in the editorship reflected the change in the times. The railroads had definitely come, and were daily pouring into the town thousands of people and many tons of goods from all over the country. Steamships were taking the place of brigs and barkentines; the 'magnetic telegraph' was ticking the day's news — quite briefly, to be sure — from Washington and the price of shares from Wall Street. The city had jumped from a population of less than 62,000 in 1830 to 136,881 in 1850, and was daily increasing. Great masses of gravel and clay from new railway cuts were being dumped at the South End, to extend the city which had outgrown its old bounds as a

growing boy bursts off his buttons. Already there had appeared in the Transcript — rather feebly and furtively at first, as if they were intrusive — many items chronicling the progress of railroad building, steamship development, and street extension. But now the time had come when these things were to occupy the editorial attention and take the place of honor on the news page.

This new time Henry Adams dates in his great autobiographical study from three events that had happened in the year 1844 — the opening of the Boston and Albany Railroad, the arrival of the first Cunarder in the harbor, and the transmission of the first telegraphic message from Baltimore to Washington. It took these things half a dozen years to get their full hold on public and private life, but the great Railroad Celebration in 1851 showed the community at last firmly in their grip. No doubt Mr. Adams might have added to his list of influences of this period the arrival of bathrooms and heating furnaces.

An editor with full sympathy with the new era was called for, and he was found in Daniel Noyes Haskell, a native of Newburyport, born January 1, 1818, son of Jeremiah Haskell, a carriage trimmer. Mr. Haskell had been a member of the Boston City Council, and of the Mercantile Library Association, and had addressed the latter body on economic and historical matters. He had already been a contributor to the paper.

Mr. Haskell was not a college man like Walter or Sargent. His schooling had all been gained in early years spent in the common schools of Newburyport.

DANIEL N. HASKELL
Editor 1853–1874

Thence he had come to Boston, while still a boy, to work in a fancy goods store. He had risen in this business. But he went straight from the fancy goods store, at the age of thirty-five years, to the Transcript office. In the mean time he had read and studied much, had dipped into public life, and had mastered a plain, straightforward, correct English style. He was always a man of decided opinions, which he urged firmly both in print and in private relations. The Transcript began to publish, from his hand, editorials which had much to do with the material advance of the city. He seldom failed to make an alluring prospect of that advance. One of his first articles (April 9, 1853) presented this thrilling, and also alarming, picture of the local development:

> Seven millions of bank capital is asked of the present Legislature to facilitate the expansion of business. Faneuil Hall, that venerable pile, so long devoted to patriotic purposes, is to be interiorly modernized, and more room made for Young America to spread its wings and soar aloft in. The great thoroughfares of the metropolis are to be widened, and rail tracks laid through the great marts of trade, to facilitate business, and keep up with the movements of modern times. Clipper ships of from 1000 to 4000 tons burthen are launched from our busy shipyards every week. These ships circumnavigate the world the same year that their timbers are alive in the primeval forest. Rivers, bridges and harbors are enlarged to give them free egress to the ocean.
>
> Public libraries on stupendous foundations are endowed and stocked with stores of knowledge by the munificence of our merchant princes. Music halls, theatres, museums are rising in all directions, for the gratification of the multitudes who seek their portals for pleasure, recreation, and amusement. Public houses are constructed whose upper floors are

near the moon at its full, with bridal chambers the fittings and decorations of which cost as much as the residences of fifty honest, hardworking farmers, or the yearly salaries of fifty country clergymen. Warehouses are erected of mammoth proportions, where rich cargoes of goods, the products of the extreme quarters of the globe, are brought to a single market; and private dwellings are erected in a style that princes and potentates would have envied less than a century ago. The land is interlaced with a network of iron rails, and the iron horse is tramping over the earth at the rate of forty miles the hour with hundreds of people in its rear. The ocean is covered with the ships of the merchant, that are sent to the ends of the earth. The auriferous soil of the isles of the sea and the shores of the Pacific is turned up by the hardy sons of the north, for the grains of gold that have been buried for ages, or ever since the earth was formed.

News is transmitted from New Orleans to Boston in a few brief moments, and sent to the great cities of the west in advance of time. Buncombe speeches made at Washington at noon are read in New England before supper. Everything is on the high pressure principle. Ministers, lawyers and doctors are fast men. Boys know more than their fathers, and the young miss is wiser than her mother, both believing in the saying that every generation grows wiser and wiser, to the end of the chapter, or faster and faster. A few staid men of the old school look on with wonder and stupefaction, and come to the sage conclusion that there is a species of insanity prevalent among the masses, that will manifest itself in a tangible form to the consternation of modern civilization.

But though this article seems to show that he had grave misgivings in the face of so much progress, Mr. Haskell wrote many hopeful articles on newly organized movements and developments; on the past history of Boston as well, but always with comparisons of the slow past with the swifter mid-century present. He

wrote, in this same year, 1853, several articles ridiculing and rebuking the conservatism of the older generation. He pointed out the remarkable advantages of Boston — 'Six first-class hotels,' he said (October 14, 1853) and 'fifteen good hotels, which though they do not charge the highest rates, are well kept and extensively patronized,' and which 'in any other New England city would be considered first-class houses.' Boston's hotels, Mr. Haskell said, were the finest in the country. He noted the suburban growth, then proceeding rapidly — for the era of suburban rail travel had come. He wrote of the swarms of people daily brought into the city from country places like Malden and Newton. The homes of the central part of the city were being replaced by stores; Mr. Haskell notes, July 1, 1853, the occupation of 'Kilby, Pearl, Milk, Federal, Congress and other streets by the dry goods, clothing, shoes, hardware and other wholesale business.' He told of a newly erected building on Franklin Street which contained 'as many superficial feet of floors as were occupied by the whole dry goods jobbing interest in the city twenty-five years ago.'

This change, this growth, the Transcript had measured in ceasing to be the 'little Transcript.' It had grown markedly in size, and its views seemed to have been enlarged with its space. In the year 1853, no longer under Sargent's editorship, the paper had passed quite out of sympathy with the election of Dr. Jerome Van Crowninshield Smith, a rather rough-cut native of Conway, New Hampshire, and the nominee of the Native American or

Know-Nothing Party, in that year, as mayor of Boston. It took three ballotings to elect Dr. Smith, for a majority of the whole vote was at that time necessary for election, and in the first ballot Smith was outvoted by Benjamin Seaver, the nominee of the Whigs. Dr. Smith was the last Native American (politically speaking) to have any chance for an office in Boston. In the next election the Native American candidate fell short by two thousand votes of election, and Alexander Hamilton Rice, Citizens' candidate, was chosen as mayor with the Transcript's approbation.

Dr. Smith, by the way, was a very picturesque character. He was a doctor of medicine, and had been city physician. It is said that he, like Dick Whittington in London, had picked up a premonition that he would be some time mayor of Boston. The premonition arose in this way: On the very first day of his arrival in Boston, which must have happened to be the day of the inauguration of the first mayor in 1822, young Smith saw a crowd around Faneuil Hall. 'What's going on?' he asked, and a bystander responded — as young Smith understood it — 'They're going to inaugurate a *mare*.' 'Is it a free show?' asked the countryman. 'It is.' 'I'd like to see the animal,' Smith said, and joined the throng in the gallery. He saw what seemed to him to be a religious ceremony, and when it was over he demanded 'when the mare was to be brought out.' It was only then, amid the general laughter, that he discovered that the affair was in honor of a chief official, new to Boston, called the 'mayor'; and the youth then and there re-

solved that he himself would some day be the central figure in such a ceremony.

A succession of able city governments followed Smith; they were worthy of the great material growth of the city that was going on all through this period. Oddly enough Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, who had been the defeated Know-Nothing candidate in 1855, was elected mayor in 1867 as a Democrat! By this time the word 'Democrat' had come to mean what it does now. By that time, too, a new era had come, and the 'well-to-do classes,' who had previously always ruled Boston, began, as a governing force, to take a back seat.

It was by no means the part of Mr. Haskell to praise everything in Boston. Soon after his accession to the editorship he began an active and a protracted crusade against what he called the Faneuil Hall Market monopoly. He declared that a combination of wealthy dealers caused the cost of food to be higher in Boston than in any other city in the land. This Faneuil Hall combination absolutely controlled the price of provisions. Competition had been strangled by a city ordinance of 1826, which put the whole market business in the city into the hands of holders of stalls in Faneuil Hall. No one from the country could vend provisions anywhere else. The result was not only a monopoly but a system of forestalling, or cornering, which caused a rise of food prices by a least fifteen per cent on all articles except milk, the sale of which was free, and the price of which fell from $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents a quart to 5 cents after the railroads came in. Mr. Haskell showed that any one who wanted to enter

business at Faneuil Hall had to pay a bonus of from $3000 to $5000 for a stall. He continued to agitate this question, in spite of opposition from the banks, many of which were in close alliance with the Faneuil Hall market men, until the regulations were removed and the monopoly broken up. He even advocated the sale of Faneuil Hall by the city, or, if that were not deemed advisable, the discontinuance of market business in it.

Mr. Haskell was not afraid to go against Beacon Hill. In 1853 there was a movement for the introduction of horse-cars in Boston. Conservative sentiment earnestly resisted this, partly on the ground that it would spoil the streets, but more largely from a fear that it would promote the increase of the value of outlying districts at the expense of central property. The Transcript favored the horse-cars, and said that opposition to them was comparable to the earlier opposition to a paid fire department, to Cochituate water, and to other accepted improvements. In the meantime, the value of land in Boston was actually going up at a dizzy rate, as Haskell had said that it would do. In 1835, land on Washington Street at Winter Street had sold at four dollars a square foot. The Transcript said that in 1853 land on the thoroughfare as far south as Hayward Place had sold for nine dollars a square foot!

There was scarcely a day that material questions, questions of business and prosperity, were not discussed in the columns of the Transcript. Mr. Haskell's attention, however, was occasionally given to lighter matters.

February 20, 1854, he wrote on 'The Beard Movement' — the fashion of wearing moustaches, full beards, side whiskers and other hirsute adornments, which was then in progress, to the scandal of the smooth-faced old-timers. Mr. Haskell good-naturedly ridiculed this tendency, only to yield to it himself a few years later, as his portrait in this volume testifies. Moustaches offended him. 'Some of our young friends,' he said, 'have the face to say that the growth of the beard is essential to their health. It is obvious to their friends that their health must be very delicate to be affected by so trifling a circumstance!'

The Transcript had comparatively few references at this time to party politics, but it freely discussed matters of practical legislation, and in 1854 vigorously opposed 'Maine law,' or state prohibition, on the ground that 'no influence is so much to be deplored as that of a law practically inoperative, defeating by its own stringency its power to conserve the best interests of the community.' This sounds quite pat in 1930. Mr. Haskell had always been an anti-slavery man, and by 1854 the Transcript did not hesitate to range itself on the side of the movement for freedom. On March 22 of that year it rejoiced in the temporary defeat of the Nebraska Bill in the House, and in the 'deep and strong public sentiment which pervades the northern states upon the questions incident to slavery.' When the attempt came, in May, 1854, to rescue the slave Anthony Burns from the enforcers of the Fugitive Slave Law, it earnestly deprecated a resort to violence, but showed itself

in moral sympathy with the rioters. Mr. Haskell wrote (May 27, 1854) with clear-cut eloquence:

> A few years ago, the advocates of freedom were mobbed in our streets, their persons were treated with indignities, and their property was destroyed. Let them see to it that, from being martyrs, they become not rioters. Folly has its martyrs as well as wisdom. Let us all trust to that benign and beneficent spirit of freedom, justice and humanity which is now making such progress on the earth. In this country, opinion is stronger than kings; and we may reasonably hope that our country, now the asylum for the oppressed of the Old World, will at no distant day become the land of the free.

On May 30 of the same year the Transcript had a letter from John G. Whittier commending the moderation of this article. 'A blind mob,' Whittier said, 'is not the tribunal for the settlement of this awful question.' The poet deprecated forcible resistance, and begged the people to believe that 'a better day was coming.' For many days the city was deeply excited over the vain attempts to save Burns legally, and the paper contained little else than news of the matter.

Mr. Haskell was a moderate man, but he expressed himself with emphasis when occasion seemed to demand. The Constitutional Convention of 1853 adjourned August 2 of that year. Its work was roundly denounced by the Transcript in an editorial published the same day. The convention could not, the Transcript said, sink the scurvy politician in the wise statesman. Its work was pronounced 'wretched patchwork,' a 'contemptible abortion,' and deserving of rejection by a large majority. It was rejected. That Mr. Haskell

could also be poetic on occasions is indicated by his remark in a Fourth of July article, in 1854, that 'the valley of the Mississippi was never made for the grave of freedom, the Rocky Mountains were never piled for its monument, nor Niagara formed to roar its requiem.'

It took some agitation on the part of the paper to get the Bostonians to assent to the annexation of Charlestown, which was not accomplished until 1874; but as early as 1854 this far-seeing editor was very grave in calling attention to the fact that, with the process of removal to the suburbs from central residence districts that were being devoted to commerce, the city would have to expand in several directions or die. In the mean time the city was growing steadily, but really more gradually than one would suppose in looking back at the matter; it was a growth in the direction of the South End and Back Bay. It seems nowadays that the creation, out of nothing as it were, of either the South End district or the Back Bay must have meant a real estate revolution, but the city appeared to be hardly conscious of it at the time. The Back Bay was really 'begun' in 1849, when the mayor and aldermen, as a board of health, pronounced the condition of the miasmatic marsh called by that name to be 'one of nuisance, offensive and injurious to the large and increasing population residing upon it.' It was described in this official statement as 'in an abominable and filthy state — an open cesspool.' The board proposed extensive filling. There were really important interests behind the movement for filling, but large questions of title to the redeemed

lands, as between the city of Boston, the town of Roxbury, and the Commonwealth, had to be settled clearly. The State got the right to the lands beyond the line of the riparian right or ownership; but it was not until December, 1856, that the work of systematic filling began. The question had been complicated by the efforts of a strong party to sell the Public Garden, but that question was settled in the negative by a formal vote in which the citizens of Boston devoted the Garden forever to the public use.

Full authority for still more extensive filling than had yet been granted was given in 1857, and the work went on rapidly, but, in spite of the admirable street plan south and west of Boylston Street, the laying out was somewhat at haphazard, as the shape of Copley Square proves. The Transcript enthusiastically hailed the improvements. The South End in the mean time had been filled. The work here began as far back as 1833, with the skillful operations of a group of far-seeing men known as the South End Associates.

In 1856, the Transcript appeared to be much more interested in the changes in the main city than it was in the extension southward or westward. It noted the fact that '$80 a square foot was paid for a plot of ground down town — or at the rate of $484,800 an acre!' On August 12, 1857, the Transcript noted with regret the cutting up of 'the beautiful garden of the late Judge Jackson in Bedford Place' into building lots, with the disappearance of its fine pear trees and other attractions. It notes in June, 1857, the southward movement of the

churches in the erection of the church of the South Congregational Society (the Reverend Edward Everett Hale's) on Union Park Street — which at that time was the centre of Boston bourgeois society. In 1858 the Transcript noted that the top price for pew rent was $75 a year, at Trinity Church. In the Hollis Street Church the highest price paid was $58; in St. Paul's, $70; Park Street, $53; Pine Street, $48; Bowdoin Street, $65; Winter Street, $64; Essex Street, $72. It was as far back as June 2, 1853, that the Transcript contained this announcement, which reads rather oddly to-day: 'A Jewish synagogue was recently erected in this city, mainly by the contributions of Episcopalians and Unitarians.'

Editor Haskell had a difficult condition of things to handle in the panic of 1857. The hard times attending and following that period do not appear to have affected the Transcript itself perceptibly, for it went on quite unscathed and unscarred, but its receipts must have been diminished by the general depreciation of property and the stagnation of business. The personal estate of one of the most opulent merchants of the city shrank from a good $1,800,000 to a rather precarious $800,000. Many fortunes faded away altogether. There was general gloom, and of course very drastic retrenchment. General recovery was apparent in the following year, and locally it was largely due to the dependence of the rest of the country on New England manufactures.

It was during Mr. Haskell's administration that an unusual feature of daily journalism, the Transcript's

genealogical speciality, found its inception. It must have had its initial impulse in a remarkable series of letters, hereinafter to be noted further, on things and persons dead and gone, entitled 'Dealings with the Dead,' written in the paper by Lucius Manlius Sargent, another locally famous member of the branch of the Sargent family which has given us Epes Sargent, John Singer Sargent, and Charles Sprague Sargent. Eventually a department was developed which consisted of several columns of questions and answers called Notes and Queries, amongst which were notes on New England genealogy. Out of Notes and Queries, edited by Charles E. Hurd, grew a regular genealogical department. This department has cleared many pedigrees and established reasonable certainty in the place of genealogical conjecture. The research carried on has been so thorough, through a great number of years, that one wonders that any genealogical question remains to be solved; but the department is as flourishing to-day as ever. Still the inquiries pour in as to the maiden name of Alice, who married William Betts, in Tiverton, born 1798; an amicable controversy is waged as to whether it was Bethea Bishop or Ann of that ilk who married James Steele in 1651. The value of the contributions of this department to American genealogical and historical records is generally admitted. Mr. John B. Clapp, following Mr. Hurd, long conducted this department, as he did also until his death the still existing cognate department of Notes and Queries, which is also of leading value in this field in the country. And out of the genea-

logical department may be said to have grown the Patriotic Department, which consists of notes and information regarding the various patriotic and historical societies.

The Transcript was one of the first of the Boston papers to realize, in the fifties, that a grave crisis in the country's affairs impended. Its attention to this crisis was coincident with the addition of a very remarkable man to the paper's staff. The fact that the editor, Mr. Haskell, made no pretence to erudition, and confessed his ignorance in æsthetic matters, led him, or the proprietors, to employ as a writer the Reverend Thomas Bayley Fox, a Unitarian minister who was a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1828, and a man of great learning and high cultivation, with a decided taste for literature and the dramatic arts. Mr. Fox began to write frequently for the paper in 1856; he was definitely added to the regular staff in 1858, and continued to write the bulk of the editorials, as well as much correspondence, critical matter, paragraphs, and, later, a weekly column of pleasant humorous gossip entitled 'Suburban Sketches.' Mr. Fox wrote in a polished style, and the grace and scope of his articles supplied whatever deficiency in the matter of the fruits of culture Mr. Haskell may have felt in his own case. Mr. Fox, who for a time had owned the Christian Examiner review, and had also been the editor of the Christian Register, had begun his career as the pastor of the church in Newburyport which Haskell had attended as a boy, and to this circumstance the editor's admiration of him may no doubt be in part

attributed. He was certainly worthy of admiration. Scrapbooks containing all his Transcript articles down to 1865 are now in the hands of his grandson, Mr. Walter J. Fox, of Boston. They are the record of an extraordinary output of public spirit, of eloquence and of broad culture. They go far toward explaining the rapid progress which the Transcript made in the estimation of the public during the years from 1858 to 1876, when Mr. Fox's service for the paper ended with his death.

Mr. Fox was an earnest anti-slavery man and an early Republican. Further note will presently be made of his day-to-day comments and exhortations during the Civil War. As early as 1856 he had, in an article on the presidential result in that year, appraised the consequences of the Democratic success exactly as history has appraised them, saying significantly of the vote for Frémont: 'The possibility of a united North has been demonstrated.' He was a very far-seeing reformer. On January 1, 1857, after picturing in an editorial a sad domestic scene in Boston, 'where a portion of the most destitute live,' he wrote thus prophetically:

> Public gardens, cheap concerts, free galleries and the like, would pay as conservative and preventive, if not as reformatory, agencies, and in due time — (that time is about due) the intelligent and refined community, getting a little more heart and comprehensive philosophy to help its intelligence and refinement, will see this truth and act upon it.

Mr. Fox wrote a wonderful article about the Atlantic cable when the first messages came through it; but when

it went silent in the apparent failure of October 9, 1858, he said:

> This Atlantic telegraph may fail; perhaps it has failed. But Science has not failed; Art has not failed; Providence has not failed; and we may rest in perfect assurance that the day has at last dawned when the East and the West, the North and the South, all lands and peoples, are to be one, so far as intercourse swift and intelligible as articulate speech can make them one.

Mr. Fox, in the Transcript, was one of the first of the Bostonians to welcome Abraham Lincoln as something better than a rather uncommon politician. The paper supported Lincoln's election in 1860, though with moderate and rather sparing utterance, and it rejoiced in the result. And Mr. Fox wrote on February 13, 1861:

> He [Lincoln] has already, by his clear record, his firm but modest course, his high reputation for integrity, won the esteem of his political opponents, and stands before the country with an unblemished private character. He has given indications that he is the man for the hour — that he can neither be cajoled by friends nor frightened by foes from what he believes to be right. He appears to be clear-headed, sound-hearted, sagacious, good tempered, firm and thoroughly honest.

The paper, in articles written by Mr. Haskell, deprecated 'hysteria,' but in various comments after the election it showed that it appreciated the full gravity of the national situation.

In the mean time, Mr. Haskell was making himself, as well as his paper, greatly liked in Boston. Many tributes were paid to him, not merely after he was dead

but in the years when he sat genially in his chair at his desk. But nothing more eloquent or poetic was ever said by another than this, which we have in a letter Thomas Bailey Aldrich wrote to William Winter, September 30, 1854, and which is included in Winter's 'Old Friends':

> Remember me to Mr. Haskell kindly. Most men have an anatomical arrangement called a heart, which is supposed to be located in the breast. I say supposed to be; for, as they seldom show any, its existence is merely a supposition. But Mr. Haskell's heart, I am inclined to think, beats in every vein.

Winter was then a resident of Boston, and Aldrich of New York.

CHAPTER X

THE CIVIL WAR BREAKS

The Telegraph Tells the Story — A Time of Stress, of Pride, of Sorrow, and Disgrace — A Remarkable Series of Editorials — How Lincoln's Letter Came to the Transcript — The Rail-Splitter's Apotheosis.

Now came the Civil War. The news expansion of the Transcript was one remarkable thing about the paper during this period. At last there was a comprehensive telegraphic news service, with daily despatches of some sort from the seat of war, which toward the end sometimes ran to two or three columns; though generally they were briefer, and always fragmentary. The news brought by the new and wonderful telegraph always had the place of honor in the paper's columns. And now began a remarkable series of editorial articles by Mr. Fox, of a nature to cheer, admonish, and stimulate the people who were undergoing the greatest test in our history. Mr. Fox's war articles were practically of daily publication. They never lacked in spirit or in a certain solemnity of expression. They were, of course, animated by a certain bitterness incidental to a period of desperate conflict. They treated the war waged by the Confederate States as a 'rebellion of the slave-power against a Republican form of government.' Mr. Fox constantly stimulated enlistment by exhortations to the young men of Massachusetts, and he realized that the sentiment of indignation was a great part of the spirit that causes men to enroll themselves as

volunteers in war. Day by day he wrote snappy paragraphs addressed to the readers' sense of humor. No doubt, for the benevolent man that he really was, this, from the Transcript of August 6, 1861, sounds rather queerly:

> A Richmond paper speaks of the 'cobblers and greasy operatives of Massachusetts.' They will probably stick to the last, and be too slippery for the chivalry to catch. Their bayonets will bristle as they wax valiant to make a charge. Virginia has seen northern brogans in the way of trade; she will have a chance now to see them in the way of war — with the makers in them.

The time was one of violent expression on both sides. The Transcript quotes from the Mobile Advertiser of April 27, 1861, which, in speaking of the New York troops, had said: 'Most of the Seventh Regiment are tolerably decent sort of men for Lincolnites, but hardly worthy of being slaughtered by the gentlemen we have sent to do it.' Throughout the summer of 1861 the Transcript advocated a quite merciless form of warfare. 'We have a rebellion to fight,' it said, 'and severity is merciless.' The Transcript was thereupon accused of bloodthirst. It said in response on June 12, 1861, 'We are bloodthirsty and we do cry, Spare not the use of every weapon against treason, because in thus feeling and arguing we believe we are maintaining the cause of right, of peace and humanity.' Later it said, 'Swift as lightning, resistless as the whirlwind, the power of the country ought before this to have made itself felt.' The Transcript did not mince matters when the defeat at

Bull Run came. On July 23, 1861, it described that event as an unequivocal disaster, a mysterious panic, but it declared that it was a good thing in making the people of the North realize the seriousness of the task before them. 'Steady!' Mr. Fox wrote as the heading of his article; 'Volunteer all who can,' he called, and concluded the article with the words: 'Heaven never granted to the young men of our generation a nobler opportunity.' The Transcript warmly denounced 'fretful, quarrelsome littleness' at Washington. But the paper's attitude, in spite of expressions of bitterness incidental to such a period, was in the main broad and reasonable. It was fairly represented by an article such as this, published on March 17, 1862:

> The rebellion had given the loyal millions of the land the opportunity — which they are solemnly bound to improve, if they would not be recreant to a most sacred trust, — to teach the South three things: 1. That they have the power and the unflinching determination to preserve the republic from detriment and the Union from dismemberment. 2. That they do not mean that a local 'interest,' a social anomaly, a semi-feudal institution, shall hereafter disturb the peace of this great country, by the exercise of overbearing and insolent political power; but that it shall, on the contrary, learn to know and keep its place, if it continues to exist, as subservient to the progress and rule of the humane principles of a free government. 3. That they have no sectional jealousies or envyings, and would rejoice and be glad to have all portions of the land equally opulent and prosperous, in everything that characterizes the greatness and beauty of the best, the most Christian civilization.

In the midst of it all Mr. Fox found the grace to devote a long and somewhat appreciative article to 'Rebel

Songs,' with copious extracts, among which is this rather fine stanza from 'God Save the South':

> 'Rebel's' the righteous name
> Washington bore,
> Why, then, be ours the same,
> The name he snatched from shame,
> Making it first in fame,
> Foremost in war.

On January 18, 1862, there died in Boston Samuel A. Eliot, merchant and statesman, the father of President Charles W. Eliot. Mr. Eliot had attracted a great deal of abuse to himself by his vote in Congress in 1852 for the Fugitive Slave Law. The Transcript's obituary article about Mr. Eliot was one of earnest praise, and it apologized for the Fugitive Slave vote by saying that Eliot honestly believed that only a compromise would save the Union. Mr. Fox then goes on to say: 'In these columns we are allowed to deal only with the public life of the departed. The private voice, if we were allowed to utter it, would tell of more and better things — speak of graces known only to the privacy of the home and the circles wherein the gentler affections had free utterance.'

As the war progressed it was quite plain that the Transcript had distinctly aligned itself with the Republican Party, but it always maintained an independent habit of utterance. The administration was often criticised for want of the necessary activity in the prosecution of the war. Mr. Haskell and his coadjutors on the paper, Mr. Fox, Ebenezer Nelson, and others, estab-

lished a high standard for the paper's views and expressions during all this period.

It is hard to realize, except by a consultation of the files of the time, in how large a proportion the dark and dreary aspects of the war occupied the attention of the newspapers of the period. It was a war that had its disgraces as well as its nobly patriotic thrills. For example, the record of desertion for Massachusetts volunteer regiments was an alarming and extraordinary part of the history of the war. From the Second Massachusetts Cavalry, after its enlistment and on the way to the field, 622 men deserted out of 2842 enlisted! General F. W. Palfrey, in his chapter on Boston soldiery in the 'Memorial History of Boston,' tells the reason for these desertions. By the end of 1862, he says, 'the better class of real volunteers was exhausted; high bounties had begun, and anything in the shape of a man that the medical officer would pass was eagerly taken. Men under sentence are said to have been released from jail on condition of enlisting. As soon as the bounty was paid, the first opportunity to desert was seized.' Some of these men were so mutinous one day in Boston that Colonel Lowell shot one of them dead.

Now and then, in the war days, a news opportunity arose of which the Transcript was not slow to take advantage. The Transcript made the first publication of the famous letter of President Lincoln to Mrs. Lydia Bixby, of 15 Dover Street, Boston, offering this lady his immortal condolences on the reported loss of her five sons in battle. The fact of this first publication is proved

positively from the Transcript's files, and also by contemporary corroborative evidence. Search of the War Department records has shown that in October, 1864, Adjutant General William Schouler, of Massachusetts, and Governor John A. Andrew, had written letters to the Department calling attention to Mrs. Bixby's great sacrifice. These letters must have been brought to President Lincoln's attention, with the result that the President, greatly moved, promptly wrote a letter to Mrs. Bixby, which he enclosed in a communication to Governor Andrew or to Adjutant General Schouler; for on November 25, 1864, four days after the date of the President's letter, the Transcript made the publication, which is reproduced in facsimile opposite. The letter was as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 21, 1864.

DEAR MADAM. —

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts, that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle.

I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save.

I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours, to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of Freedom.

Yours, very sincerely and respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

MRS. BIXBY.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT LINCOLN. Mrs. Bixby —a lady in the southern portion of this city, whose case has excited much sympathy—had six sons enlisted in the Union army, five of whom have been killed in battle, and the sixth is now at the U. S. Hospital at Readville. Being in indigent circumstances, she has received asistance from some of the churches and Christian women of Boston. Her lonely abode was made cheerful this morning by the receipt of the following letter from President Lincoln:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, Nov. 21, 1864.

Dear Madam,—I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts, that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle.

I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save.

I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours, to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of Freedom.

Yours, very sincerely and respectfully,
MRS. BIXBY. A. LINCOLN.

THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF A FAMOUS LETTER
Clipping from the Transcript for November 25, 1864

The next publication of the letter was in the Boston Daily Advertiser of November 26. It was afterward, December 3, reprinted in the Army and Navy Journal of New York.

Some doubt has been expressed, based on army records, as to whether Mrs. Bixby really did lose five sons in the war. Whether or not there had been some misrepresentation regarding this, there is no doubt whatever of the genuineness and good faith of Lincoln's letter. Adjutant General Schouler stated in his letter of information to the War Department that he had seen letters from five different company commanders attesting the death of all five of the sons. Many efforts have been made to locate the original of the Lincoln letter, but all have failed. It has often been stated that the original was in the possession of Brasenose College, at Oxford, England, but the officials of that institution, as well as those of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, where, in case Brasenose had possessed the letter, it must have been preserved, deny that the letter is there or that it ever was there. Schouler stated, in his 'History of Massachusetts in the Civil War,' that he had placed the letter in the hands of Mrs. Bixby. She afterward left Boston and went to live at Wolfboro, New Hampshire. Her grandson, William A. Bixby, said in 1925 that he had no knowledge as to what became of the letter, and added, speaking of his grandmother, 'She was not the type of woman who would realize the value of the letter.'

The present generation little know the struggle

through which the earnest supporters of the war for the Union had to go in combating the opposition. The Transcript was in the thick of this almost forgotten fight. It had to record, and it certainly earnestly denounced, such disloyal developments, right here in Boston, as the North End draft riot of July 14, 1863. The armory of the Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment was attacked by a furious draft-resisting mob, but, in contrast with the manner in which a similar demonstration was met in New York City, the suppression of the attack was as fierce as its onset had been. Under the command of the energetic Major Edward C. Jones, seventeen of the assailants were killed or wounded. For days and nights the Lancers and the Cadets patrolled the city, and the riot was completely suppressed. But for several days Boston was a battlefield.

By the year 1864, the Transcript had surely risen to a full conception not only of the mighty consequence of the war, but to a comprehension of the grandeur of the character of Lincoln. The last part of the year 1864, when Grant's first drive on Richmond had apparently failed, and when many elements in the country were clamoring for peace, was a dark time for the North. The 'rebels' had made their raid to within seven miles of Baltimore. The Transcript strongly opposed the attempt to put McClellan in the place of Lincoln, in the presidential campaign of 1864. 'Every ballot cast for McClellan is a concession to Secession,' it said. It had sought, as we have seen, constantly to stimulate enlistments in the army and to support the draft — but

everybody who was drawn for service appeared to be trying to avoid it by sending a substitute, or in some other way. There was a camp of these hired substitutes at Portland, Maine, and they were all trying to escape in order to go elsewhere and be hired over again. The Transcript had to chronicle the fact that it was necessary to surround the Portland camp with a high fence, and that lighted kerosene lamps had to be hung up on the trees and upon other fences in the vicinity, at night, to prevent desertions. The 4th of August, 1864, was appointed as a day of fasting and prayer, and in its issue of the 5th, the Transcript, almost in a tone of despair, records the prevailing uneasiness over the protraction of the war, and exhorts the people to be patient. It denounces in severe terms the disloyalty of the Boston Courier in discouraging enlistments. When Lincoln was triumphantly reëlected, its joy was unconcealed. The Transcript rose to high terms of eloquence over Lincoln's second inaugural. 'How strange and unwontedly momentous it is!' the paper exclaimed; 'how crowded with the history of the past, how strongly pulsating with the anxieties of the present, how immense as prophetic of the future!' The Transcript published prominently a wonderful account of the inauguration, well worth preserving, written by William H. Channing in a letter to Lydia Maria Child, and by her sent to Mr. Haskell, in which Mr. Channing said:

> Just as the President bared his head to take the oath the clouds parted, and the sunbeams fell upon him, while far above, on the summit of the dome, the Goddess of Liberty

was crowned with light. The heart must have been cold, the imagination dull indeed, that did not, at such a moment, feel as if the Chrism of the Light of Life was consecrating the head of a free nation.

And the address itself! I heard it with a beating heart and brimming eyes. To my judgment, that speech stands isolated amidst the public addresses of this nation, or any other nation, for its intense sincerity. In simple truthfulness it is sublime. Think of it! Here is the victorious ruler of a republic, that has already proved itself to be the mightiest power upon the earth; in this very hour when triumph is sure as any contingent event in human affairs can be, when some slight outburst of exultant hope would not only have been pardonable but acceptable; and what do we hear? A humble acknowledgment for unmerited mercies, a touchingly pathetic submission to the extremest sacrifices demanded in righteous penalty for monstrous wrongs; a steady trust that good will finally prevail; and a modest, firm and magnanimous resolve to fulfill all the duties of humanity, at home and abroad. To my mind this plain, straightforward telling of the truth, before the living God, whose word is truth; before the people, whose representative he knew himself to be; before the world, whose verdict will finally be just, according to the facts, proves Abraham Lincoln to be great as well as good.

Such scenes had the Transcript to describe in those days in its compact columns, and with such emotions it had to deal. Is not the slow unfolding of history in the columns of a serious newspaper a function approaching to grandeur?

And then came the tragedy of the assassination, when all the world sadly folded itself in a mantle of grief!

CHAPTER XI

THE ARGUS-EYED BLIND MAN

Career of William Durant, Business Guide and Treasurer — A Seventy-Year Episode in Journalism — Picturesque Incidents of a Conservative Service.

In Lynde Walter's day, the editor himself sometimes took in advertisements and subscriptions over the counter. The 'business department' then consisted of Messrs. Dutton and Wentworth, who also conducted a considerable and increasing job printing and even a general publishing business; a clerk who kept the books, a collector of bills, and two or three boys, who cleaned out the office and delivered the paper to subscribers. One of the office boys of the year 1834 was a certain tireless youth who was destined to become the head of the paper's daily business. His name was William Durant; he was Boston born, and first saw the light in a house in Norfolk Place, opposite the Lambs Tavern, afterwards the Adams House, July 26, 1816. His father was also Bostonian, but his mother was a Campbell, and a Scot. William's first job in the office was to sweep it out. Whether or not he made good is a question that seems to be answered by the fact that eventually he rose to the highest business position on the paper, and that his sixtieth anniversary in the service of it was celebrated by a banquet, on February 19, 1894, in which the editorial, business, and mechanical staff participated with intense enthusiasm. As a boy, William

Durant, besides sweeping out, built the fires, cleaned the lamps and the sidewalk, wrote the wrappers and did up the papers, working from seven o'clock in the morning until eight in the evening; and did everything that any one else had failed to do. At the age of seventeen or eighteen he lost, by an accident, the sight of one eye, and always thereafter wore a green patch over that eye. The sight of the other eye was much impaired, and throughout his latest years all his reading was done not only with one eye but with that eye assisted by a magnifying glass. But those who remember him and his methods will testify that very little went into the paper, either as an advertisement, an editorial, a piece of news or a contribution, that escaped the careful and occasionally critical attention of that magnifying glass.

Though a watchful observer, Mr. Durant was a man of native courtesy and kindness, approachable and friendly. He had a gift of laconic epigram of distinctly Yankee flavor. In referring in after years to the great fire of November 10, 1872, when the paper, as well as the whole city, received a heavy blow, Mr. Durant once said, 'I thought for a while we couldn't stand up under it, but — well, we had the Transcript left.' This is a phrase that tells volumes about the preponderant value of a successful newspaper's good will in its list of assets. There was never a time when Mr. Durant failed to appreciate the worth of that asset — the newspaper's *soul*; and he was a most careful and sagacious guardian of the credit and general estimation that constitute the

value. Editors came and went, and younger generations of owners came on, but William Durant served steadily along at his desk from a date only four years after the paper's birth to the time when it had become one of the leading newspapers of the world; and there were few influences that had a more marked effect in maintaining the Transcript's high reputation and fame than his. He died December 31, 1903, at the age of eighty-seven.

Mr. Durant's views and policies were conservative, sometimes to the point of picturesqueness. His sorrow when the Transcript gave leading prominence on its bulletin board to a football game was genuine and extreme. He remarked to one of the staff, on this occasion, that the Transcript must fall twenty per cent in the esteem of its judicious patrons, and in its credit in the community, by such a proceeding. 'Our old respectability is gone!' Mr. Durant said. For once he was wrong. The march of events was strong, and it became necessary for him to consent to many changes and developments, all of which somehow conduced to the growth of the paper and its gain in the public esteem. He did not live to see the introduction of news illustrations in the pages of the Transcript. To these he was unalterably opposed. For a considerable time before his death all the other papers used pictures. It was Mr. Durant's opinion that the standing and reputation of the Transcript were in a considerable measure due to the fact that it did not use pictures. He seemed to ignore the fact that the paper had carried illustrations, without

offense, as long ago as the eighteen-forties. The later change came in quite gradually, early in the twentieth century, when pictures were sparingly introduced at first, and were well received by readers and patrons generally.

Mr. Durant's idea of a normal newspaper salary was twenty dollars a week. In connection with one case, wherein he had been constrained to consent to an increase to twenty-five dollars a week, he remarked that the added five dollars meant nothing to the recipient except a development of hurtful extravagance. 'What does he do with that five dollars?' said Mr. Durant; 'he moves into a house that costs him that much more in rent, or he buys a piano for his daughter.'

It was possibly this remark that led the Transcript's Facts and Fancies man to originate the story of a man whose salary had been raised two hundred dollars a year, and to whom his wife then said, 'Now we can afford a higher-priced apartment.' The husband answers, 'We are very comfortable here; wouldn't it be better to get the landlord to raise the rent?'

Mr. Durant's conservative ideas about salaries were doubtless the product of his own early experiences in the service of the paper. He used to relate that his pay, when he came on as an office boy and writer of the wrappers for the mail, was three dollars a week. It happened that after he had toiled a while, the boy had a chance to make a visit with somebody to New York City, and he asked for leave of absence of a week to make the trip, which represented to him a heavenly

AN OFFICE CONFERENCE IN THE NINETIES
Samuel J. Mandell, President *(left)*, and William Durant, Treasurer

opportunity. He received the permission on condition that he should forfeit his salary for the week, and also that all his wrappers should be written up in advance, and all other routine office work put ahead in the same way. 'And I did everything up ahead,' said Mr. Durant, 'except sweeping out the office, which unfortunately couldn't be done in advance.'

It was even in his age that, in taking on a woman employee who became, and still is, a most valued member of the staff, Mr. Durant consented that she should look forward to an eventual increase from seven dollars a week to ten dollars. But he made her consent to a stipulation that her salary should never exceed ten dollars a week. When this stipulation was eventually disregarded, it was not through any want of a sentiment of respect for his arrangements, but in recognition of a change in conditions which it would have been beyond his powers to control. When progress had to be made, Mr. Durant always bowed to the inevitable, and carried out the changed arrangements cheerfully. There was a firm basis of sound sagacity in his views.

Mr. Durant's death came just a few weeks short of what would have been the seventieth anniversary of his connection with the Transcript. He had witnessed, and in some sense had been personally responsible for, its great material growth. The fiftieth and sixtieth anniversaries of his connection were celebrated by enthusiastic banquets given to him by the proprietors and the staff, by all of whom he was most affectionately re-

garded. He had an amazing number of friends, who took delight in coming in and chatting with him, when his time served for such diversion. Among these friends and admirers were Daniel Webster, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Thomas Starr King, and George Washington Childs, of the Philadelphia Ledger.

Mr. Durant saw the needs of the paper, in the essential matter of the types upon which it was printed, advanced from the 'new dress' purchased from the Dickinson Type Foundry in 1838, weighing seven hundred pounds all together, to a type dress bought of the same establishment in 1894, weighing six and a half tons; and finally, very soon after this last recorded purchase, to the replacement of hand-set types by the linotype machine, in 1895. He then, as he had always done, accepted the situation, and took care to see that the utmost advantage was taken of it.

The length of Mr. Durant's service, though as yet without a parallel in the history of the paper, is typical of the general record of Transcript employment. Several half-centuries have been rounded out by writers and other employees in the service of the paper. As this is written, Mr. Frank A. Clark, chief of the mailing department, who entered the service of the paper in 1864, is still in charge of that department. He is the 'dean' of all the paper's workers. Mr. Louis M. Hammond, business manager, joined the paper in 1875. Mr. Henry D. Eustis has worked for the paper since 1872. Mr. Frederick A. Allen, in the composition department, has been a member of the force since 1873.

Miss Frances M. Walker, a proof-reader, dates from 1880; Mr. George J. Porter, composition department, from 1882; and Mr. Frederick W. Ford, news editor, from 1883.

CHAPTER XII

THEN CAME 'THE FIRE'

Fate Catches a Horseless City on a Sleepy Saturday Night — A Brand-New Transcript Building Swallowed up — But 'the Transcript Was Left.'

On March 26, 1860, the Transcript had removed its publication offices from 35 and 37 Congress Street — to which place it had gone from 10 and 12 Exchange Street May 5, 1845 — to No. 92 (now 238) Washington Street. But its quarters there grew so inadequate that the proprietors in 1871–72 erected a new and quite imposing granite building of their own at the present 324 Washington Street, next to the corner of Milk — the building which, reconstructed after the fire, and with its subsequent expansion to Milk Street and the purchase and addition of the Franklin Building on Milk Street, it still occupies. The paper had, with all its departments, entered this new building February 5, 1872, and was getting along swimmingly in the new and excellent location when a staggering event occurred. A vast conflagration, unexampled in the city's history, and, except for the great fire in Chicago in the previous year, unexampled in the history of the country, fell upon Boston on the 9th and 10th of November, 1872, destroying almost the whole business section of the city.

It was on a very quiet Saturday evening that a little flame started, from some absolutely unknown cause, in

THE FIRST WASHINGTON STREET OFFICE OF THE TRANSCRIPT
1860–1872

As it appeared in 1853. It is the building at the right, then occupied by Brewer, Stevens & Cushing

THE SECOND WASHINGTON STREET OFFICE
BEFORE THE FIRE, 1872

a hoopskirt factory in a mixed warehouse building at the corner of Summer and Kingston Streets. It spread in a flash. The city, that night, seemed as if awaiting a judgment. Or was it that fate had taken a very unfair advantage of it? A frightful epizoötic distemper had killed half of the horses in the city and virtually disabled the remainder — and all vehicles, including fire engines, were then propelled by horse power. Because of this distemper, restrictions had been put upon the fire companies, forbidding them to answer fire calls outside of their immediate districts except upon third alarms; and there was not one fire-engine house within the sixty-five acres of closely built territory which were presently to be ravaged by the conflagration. Not one human being was in the building on Kingston Street when the fire broke out. The structure was crowded with disorderly material, most of which was inflammable, and there was a pine-board-lined freight elevator shaft running to the top of the building, which was crowned with a mansard roof. The fire flashed up this elevator shaft to the top and mushroomed out so as to envelop the whole building.

The fire was having the whole situation to itself. Nobody knew about it. But now a small crowd gathered outside, peering at the flames. Yet nobody in that little crowd felt it to be his duty to send in an alarm. Subsequent evidence showed that, although the flames from the roof had been seen plainly from the Charlestown prison at 7.07 o'clock, no alarm was sent in until 7.24, and no fire apparatus arrived until 7.34! Too

late! The fire had already crossed the street and invaded adjoining buildings. One of the engines that then arrived was drawn up slowly and painfully by men and boys, for want of horses. Subsequent arrivals of engines were slow and painful, as a few horses could be got together.

There seemed to be a pall of indifference over the city. Even the newspaper men were dining cheerfully, in a Press Club banquet, at the Revere House, and until ten o'clock every press man present declined to sally forth for an 'ordinary fire.' All the work of the fire-fighters, at the starting-point, was as vain as if the men had been engaged in bringing and throwing water with buckets. Northward and westward the conflagration raged. It swallowed up the great granite warehouses like brush-heaps. On and on it went. It struck Washington Street, and poured northerly toward the new Transcript building and the Old South Church.

By this time it was Sunday. At last the news had spread, too; fire engines now came in, one by one, from fifty miles around Boston. Between the Transcript building and the corner of Milk Street there was then a little old three-story structure. This was blown up by gunpowder; but the Transcript building was in the full grasp of the flames. The north wall, however, stood; and it was this wall, and a gallant fire company from Malden, that saved the Old South and checked the progress of the fire in this direction. The fact that the big Mullet post-office on Milk Street, with thick granite walls, was then but half built, with no combustible

material in it except stagings, helped to halt the northward march of the fire — which, nevertheless, a little to the eastward, penetrated as far as the Merchants' Exchange Building on State Street. The people in the buildings on the west side of Washington Street saved their places, and the stretch of buildings there, by their own efforts.

Thus the fire took the brand-new Transcript building, and stopped there. It had, in a sense, burned itself out. The curse was expiated. But a hundred millions in wealth had been swallowed up. The city had received a fearful blow. Yet after a gasp which only for a night or two resembled despair, Boston went to work again, and within two years all had been rebuilt; and it was better, much better, than it had been before. Never again, probably, will sick horses and easy-going men, and a miraculously dull moment all together, endanger the existence of the city.

The greater part of the front or street wall of the Transcript building, shown in the illustration facing page 142, remained standing. In the architrave on the third story of the building was carved the letter D, for Dutton; that letter remained intact and is still borne on the front of the reconstructed building. The building was at once extended to take in the site of the little old sloping-roofed building of shops on the Milk Street corner. In 1905 the adjoining building on the east, fronting on Milk Street, which covers the site of Franklin's birthplace, was added to the Transcript's property, and its editorial offices spread over this new structure

like a hen spreading her wings to take in a brood of chickens. The newly acquired building on Milk Street is still called the Franklin Building, and a tablet on the front records the birth on the spot of the great printer, philosopher and statesman. For twenty years this building was the home of the Boston Post. Printer's ink needs no extra caloric to make it flow freely in this vicinity.

Editor Haskell did not long survive the crisis of the fire. The circumstance has been mentioned that in the new building he had a charming office at the Milk Street corner, with the Old South at his elbow. Here, from February, 1874, to the night of the congressional and state election, on November 2 in the same year, he labored placidly — the paper, possibly, growing in its various departments a trifle beyond his watchful eye. It was much concerned in those days with æsthetic questions, about which Mr. Haskell owned that he knew nothing. But he retained a keen interest in politics; indeed, that interest was fatal to him, for in a publication in the paper following Mr. Haskell's death, November 13, 1874, his physician declared that his fatal illness, which was pneumonia, was due to exposure to cold on the Saturday before election and to further exposure and exhaustion in getting out hourly extras on election night and superintending the throwing of returns by means of a magic lantern on the tower of the Old South.

After a funeral at the Hollis Street Church, his body was buried by those of his fathers at Oak Hill Cemetery, Newburyport.

CHAPTER XIII

FACING A NEW WORLD

Questions of Control Answered — A Time of Rapid Expansion — Death of the Founder — A New Editor.

If a newspaper does not answer the demands of its period, if it does not harmonize with the spirit of its time, it is pretty sure to die. If the Transcript has lived long and successfully, it is because it has lived with its Boston and its New England. That seems to have been what its people, whether they were owners or editors or writers, wanted it to do. As the community, as American culture and activities, went on in successive stages, so did the paper. The period of its history from 1874 to the close of the century, and for several years after that, is properly to be considered as a distinct and harmonious episode, although the paper was within that period under the editorship successively of two men; although a change of the firm name (involving no change in actual ownership) took place after the death of Henry W. Dutton and William H. Dutton, father and son; and although a new and vigorous influence arose in the person of George Snell Mandell, in the liaison between ownership and editorial control.

After the death of the Duttons, which occurred in 1874 and 1875, the property was put in trust for three years. Difficult matters of control arose in that immediate period, as the paper was without a recognized

head. The heirs thereupon organized themselves into a stock company. The paper, therefore, instead of being published by Henry W. Dutton and Son was now, as it still is, published by the Boston Transcript Company. In the organization of this company the property was, and still is, held exclusively by the descendants of Dutton. The first president of the company was Samuel P. Mandell, a merchant, director in the dry-goods firm of C. F. Hovey and Company. He had married Ann Edwards Dutton, fourth daughter and fourth child of Henry W. Dutton. Mr. Mandell was the type and expression of the old-time Boston merchant, with all the traditions. Born in Boston in 1831, his father, Moses, was the principal and proprietor of a private school, and his grandfather was a Revolutionary major. When Lafayette came to Boston in 1825, this eldest Mandell stood modestly in the line of the Revolutionary veterans at the public reception. Lafayette, from his place, espied him, and ran down and embraced him and kissed him on both cheeks, well remembering him as a companion and helper in the war.

The living heirs of the Duttons, in 1875, as has been already in part recorded, were Lydia Worthington Dutton, an unmarried daughter of Henry W.; Martha Gilbert Dutton, who had married William Tracy Eustis, and whose living children were then Eleanor Tracy Eustis, married to Frank H. Pattee; Henry Dutton Eustis, an employee then and now of the Transcript; Elizabeth Mussey; Martha, who married Walter B. Stephenson; J. Tracy Eustis and Mary St. Barbe; Ann

E. Dutton, who had married Samuel P. Mandell, and their sons, William D. Mandell and George Snell Mandell; and Henry W. Dutton's youngest daughter Mary Maria. There was also the widow of young William Henry, Elizabeth Gane, who subsequently married Jerome Jones. The younger Dutton, William Henry, died without children. In the new incorporation, the husbands of these daughters were admitted to the ownership of at least one share of stock, so that they were eligible for the corporation offices.

This probably was ebb tide in the affairs of the Transcript. The fire, the simultaneous loss of its heads, both publishing and editorial, caused a depression both personal and business which called for courage and astuteness. To the meticulous attention to economy of production of Mr. Durant, Mr. Mandell, the president, supplied hopeful resolution, and a point of view was cultivated by association with the exceptionally able body of men who composed the firm of C. F. Hovey and Company, at that time one of the foremost of Boston business houses. Together they visited George W. Childs, of the Philadelphia Ledger, then at its apogee of influence, who told them that 'a newspaper is killed only from the inside.' Together they returned to establish a counting room, cognizant of the fact that 'both wings must flap together,' the converse of which has furnished the tragedy of many a newspaper office. From ostensibly the background, Mr. Mandell for forty years, dropping into the back office daily, except for such times as he was abroad on business, for consultations

and advice, exercised an influence which 'set' the character of the paper, beyond the slightest peradventure. As Mr. Durant found his eyesight an increasing handicap, he sought support from the young men trained under him. Frederic B. Whitney gradually assumed the details of publication, becoming eventually assistant treasurer and business manager. All this while, another young man was earning high encomiums from Transcript's advertisers. An alert, neat, almost dapper young person kept dropping into their counting rooms. He stated his business concisely, accepted their decisions pleasantly, and went his way. Always a wave of cheeriness attended his comings and his goings. Louis M. Hammond carried this disposition with him as he rose to the position of publication head. To him, employees frankly state their grievances. With him the directors unfailingly take council before action. Fifty-four years ago his engaging personality led to his being hired as office boy. To-day it helps him carry the responsibility of the treasurership and makes him the acceptable Ambassador of Good Will in any difficulties within or without the office.

The new arrangement certainly did not imply any check in the growth of the Transcript along the lines of the great newspaper expansion that was rapidly taking place all over the country. Everything in the land was expanding literally by leaps and bounds — sometimes in the confusing way in which little Alice saw her feet at every instant getting farther away from her nose. Bennett and others in New York had accustomed the public

to journalistic enterprise and audacity. The Transcript had no part in the Bennett sensationalism, but it grew and prospered and enlarged its features with the rest; and while it expanded its news and literary departments it remained soundly conservative in business respects. Mr. Durant's influence was always exercised to reconcile divergent views and keep everything harmonious. In a conservatively prosperous city the Transcript represented conservative prosperity; in a city which on the whole had the best taste and highest intelligence in the country, it sought to be an organ of good taste and intelligence. Its editors through this period represented the commanding conditions. After Daniel Noyes Haskell's death in November, 1874, the editing had for a time devolved on the gifted Thomas B. Fox. He was now old and infirm, and unsuited to the task.

In January, 1875, a considerable reorganization was brought about by the heirs. Mr. William Alfred Hovey was called in as editor. He continued in that capacity until 1881. He was a clever but restless genius who had never been through either a university or the hard-boiling process of training in a daily newspaper office, but who was nevertheless well educated and very intelligent. Born in Boston, December 21, 1841, he was the son of Charles Fox Hovey, founder of the dry-goods house, still existent in the Boston business world, of C. F. Hovey and Company. His mother was Justine Watts DePeyster. His father, Charles Fox Hovey, was a man of independent views and clean-cut habits of mind. In its editorial remarks about William A. Hovey

at the time of his death (February 18, 1906) the Transcript spoke of its once editor as having 'inherited a good share of his father's radicalism.' Both were men of independent and outspoken habit, but neither would be accounted as 'radical' in the present-day acceptance of the word. William A. Hovey was educated in the Boston English High School, from which he graduated in 1860, and he then acquired a considerable degree of polish by residence through a little more than a year in Europe, with much intelligent study there of the German, Italian, and French languages. He was always proud of his acquaintance with the French language and culture.

Returning from Europe in 1862, when the country was at the full tide of the Civil War, young Hovey was unable, on account of eye-strain, to enlist as a soldier, but he obtained a position under the Sanitary Commission, which was the 'Red Cross' of that conflict. He served the Commission on the field in Virginia, and attained such estimation in that work that he became the assistant secretary of the Commission. In this position his work was done at Washington. This gave him a close look-in on national politics. When the end of the war released him from this employment, he sought to place himself in the world's affairs; he went to Pennsylvania and entered business at Pottsville, where in 1868 he married Frances Goodridge. He became an engineer and a superintendent of a coal mine in Schuylkill County. He stuck to this employment for three years, but his restless disposition then plunged him into the

WILLIAM A. HOVEY
Editor 1875-1881

REV. THOMAS BAYLEY FOX
Editorial writer 1856-1875

editorship of a paper in that district of Pennsylvania. The next move on his checker-board carried him back to Chelsea, Massachusetts, where, in 1868, he set up a printing office and started a weekly paper, which he conducted for two years. In 1872 he became managing editor of the Boston Commercial Bulletin, an important commercial weekly, of which the elder Curtis Guild, father of the governor of that name, was the proprietor and editor. This put him in a position to be selected by the Transcript's directors as editor of that paper, in January, 1875.

Mr. Hovey wrote in a brilliant and crisp style, but his administration is remembered principally for a column of bright gossip and anecdotes, very suggestive of the French feuilletons, which he called 'Causeries.' Selections from this column constituted the material of a very readable book of the same name published by Mr. Hovey in 1881.

There was very little of order or system about Mr. Hovey's work. He was of debonair but quite careless personal appearance; exceedingly intelligent, and of eager observation and habit of inquiry; genial and popular, and a devoted club man at the St. Botolph, which he helped to organize in 1880, and of which club he became the secretary. His editorial writing was trenchant and original. He was made an honorary M.A. of Williams College in 1881.

Mr. Hovey left the Transcript in 1881, and established the Manufacturers' Gazette, whose period of existence was brief. After this he edited the Sunday

Budget, a lively weekly. When that disappeared, he edited the Electrical Review, and then entered business employment, first with the Merchants' Electric Light and Power Company and then, until his death, as publicity manager and general useful man with the American Bell Telephone Company. At his death, February 19, 1906, he left a son and two daughters.

The Transcript, during Mr. Hovey's administration, had a considerably enlarged office staff. Ebenezer Nelson, who had been with the paper since 1852, was an assistant editor and writer; Edward H. Clement came in as assistant editor, with a particular charge of musical and dramatic matters; he also wrote editorials and other material. Benjamin F. Priest — a real old-timer, typical in his life of the convivial terms of intimacy within the whole community in which the 'local editors' of the period lived — was city editor. Albon H. Bailey, telegraph editor, who had been with the paper since 1848, was confronting new and to him alarming news conditions. Clarence W. Barron came in at the same moment as financial editor. He left the paper in 1884, and died in 1928, with a national reputation as editor of the Boston News Bureau and the Wall Street Journal. By 1876 the paper had achieved a staff of three reporters.

It was within the last twelve months of Mr. Hovey's administration that the Transcript, on the 24th of July, 1880, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. The career of the paper had by this date advanced to noteworthy distinction. It was now the largest daily paper in New

England. It had won a high position in American journalism. Its situation at that time was correctly described by the journalistic historian Oberholtzer, who said of the paper: 'Its aims were very high and its course creditable to those in control and to the community in which it appeared.' That 'community' was the community of Emerson, of Longfellow, of Holmes, of Hawthorne, and of the social and economic supremacy of the old mercantile families. The Transcript was a force, as well as a delight, in an environment which was itself a power in the nation and in the world. The paper was entitled to a public recognition of its fiftieth anniversary, but it preferred the lot which fell to it of celebrating the occasion in a purely fireside way. Samuel P. Mandell, president of the corporation, and William Durant, its treasurer, invited the members of the staff — which meant everybody in its employ, down to Thomas Hogan, the office boy — and its most immediate outside supporters and sympathizers, to a dinner and entertainment at the Ocean House at Revere Beach. At a well-spread table at that house, at 6.30 in the evening, Mr. Durant welcomed the Transcript employees and their friends. The chairman at the banquet was John D. Whitcomb, who for many years, and until his death in 1916, was the foreman of the Transcript's composing room. He had been an employee since 1848. Two former editors of the paper, Mrs. Cornelia Walter Richards and Epes Sargent, were represented at the banquet, the former by a letter, and the latter by a letter and an original poem. Mrs. Richards's letter contained,

in addition to congratulations on the paper's success, these words which are now interesting: 'I cannot know who will be the chronicler when the Transcript shall have seen its hundredth year, and therefore I rejoice that there are those living so lovingly disposed to commemorate this half-century epoch.' Everybody at the banquet seemed to be looking toward the future; Epes Sargent, in his pleasant ode, employed the refrain, 'May it live a thousand years!' Mr. Hovey, in a sketch of the Transcript's first fifty years, closed his admirable paper with these words: 'The Transcript has had gratifying proof that it has lost nothing of its hold upon the good will of the community of which it has for fifty years formed a part. It is the hope of all now connected with it that during the fifty years to come it may continue to prosper as in the half century closing. May he who writes the history of the first hundred years of its life find its record as clear and creditable as it has thus far proved.'

This may be a good place wherein to say that the present historiographer, who first entered the Transcript office, as a visitor from the West, within eight months of this same semi-centennial celebration, and who six years thereafter joined its staff, finds in the unrolling scroll of time most substantial evidence that the Transcript's record for the fifty years that have passed since 1880 has been even more creditable than that of the first half-century.

The Transcript's staff in 1880, although so large and impressive as compared with a former time, when the

labors of half a dozen persons served to put each day's paper on the street, was a small affair when compared with the 425 employees of 1930. The roll of the office, as it was then constituted, is given in the bright pamphlet record of the fiftieth anniversary banquet. It named sixteen persons in the editorial department, including three reporters and the office boy. The editor had three 'assistant editors' or writers, Mr. Ebenezer Nelson, Mr. Clement, and Miss Georgia Hamlen. Mr. Hurd was literary editor; the telegraph was handled entirely by one man, Albon H. Bailey, and it is a matter worthy of note that while Mr. Bailey had no helper, the exchange editor, Mr. William A. Ford, enjoyed the services of an assistant, who was his son. The city editor, Mr. Priest, had three reporters, and Mr. Barron, financial editor, had Mr. Edwin H. Crandon, afterward financial editor, as his assistant. The business department consisted of ten persons, including the president of the corporation and running down to the janitor. The composition department was by far the most formidable in point of personnel. The force in this department consisted of fifty-six people, including proof-readers, apprentices, and ticker attendants. The compositors numbered thirty-two, of whom eleven were women. The Transcript had been a pioneer in introducing women compositors, and the Duttons, in bringing them in, had forestalled trade-union objection by paying men and women the same wages for the same work, though it was everywhere else the custom in that day to pay women no more than two thirds of the rates which the men demanded.

In the press department, which was commanded by a foreman impressively named Abel Head, there were nine employees, and in the mailing department, relatively important then, there were twenty-two, including twelve carriers. The mailing department was then, as now, under the command of Frank A. Clark, who had entered the service of the paper in 1864.

In a marked sense, the eighties represented the best achievement of the journalism of the nineteenth century. That achievement was less strenuous, less voluminous, but rather more intellectual, than the current production of the twentieth century. There was then surely no lack of newspapers to represent prevalent interests and opinions. In 1886 eight dailies and forty-four weeklies were published in Boston. The daily papers were the Transcript, the Daily Advertiser, the Post, the Herald, the Traveller, the Journal, the Globe, and the Evening Record. Every one of them, no doubt, was trying to fill its niche honestly, though three or four of them were moribund, and had begun to know it. The Daily Advertiser, which had stood at the head of morning papers in the general estimation, and of which, in 1884, the chief editor was Professor Charles F. Dunbar of Harvard and the managing editor Edwin M. Bacon, had ceased to be profitable, and had entered a somewhat long period of deliquescence. The Transcript was taking over the Advertiser's estimation, its readers, and the important people who wrote letters to the editor when they wanted to reach the public. The Journal was beginning to 'yellow,' with scare-heads,

matter in 'boxes,' and in other sensational ways which spoiled it with its old supporters. The Herald was gaining ground under the editorship of a very sagacious man, once a schoolmaster, John H. Holmes. The Globe, started as an ultra-highbrowed and literary paper, had languished along that line — the public did not want a paper that was absolutely too bright and good for human nature's daily food — and was on the material up-grade again under the more popular management of Colonel Charles H. Taylor. The Post, very Democratic and also very readable, was in a period of decline, from which it was afterward lifted by the enterprise of E. A. Grozier, who had been trained under the hand of Joseph Pulitzer on the New York World. That sort of conservative Boston preference that keeps its quality while accepting and welcoming the real gifts of progress was rapidly centering its patronage on the Transcript.

It was in 1886 that Edwin M. Bacon — who by that time had become the editor of the Post in a vain effort to take over in behalf of that paper the old estimation of the Daily Advertiser — wrote as follows in his excellent 'Dictionary of Boston': 'The journalistic profession here includes a large number of liberally educated people; and the "Bohemian," thanks to the better influences prevailing in American journalism, is now a rarity in Boston. Boston has reason to plume herself a trifle on the cleanliness and tone of her periodical literature.' It would be hard to find any one to deny that the Transcript of the eighties represented this desirable condition in a preëminent degree.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CLEMENT PERIOD

An Idealist-Reformer Editor who Sometimes Sought Thorny Paths — The Paper Supports, and then Opposes, Cleveland — The Entrance of George S. Mandell.

In a business as well as an editorial way, the Transcript had grown under Mr. Hovey's editorship, but his administration was not destined to continue many years. He was of a restless disposition and of discursive rather than persistent activities. He resigned in May, 1881, and was succeeded as editor by Edward Henry Clement, who was already distinctly second in command in the editorial department. Mr. Clement was a man of undoubted talent in the career which he had firmly chosen. Born at Chelsea, April 19, 1843, of a mercantile family that had come down from Claremont, New Hampshire, he graduated with high standing at Tufts College in 1864, after an attempt, as a minor — an attempt thwarted by the interference of his parents, who already had two sons in the service — to get into the Union Army. After his graduation, the war being still at full tide, he immediately went South, to join one of his brothers who was an officer with the Union troops in Georgia. With Sherman's advancing army he entered Savannah.

Young Clement, who throughout his life was a remarkably handsome man, of easy and graceful address

EDWARD H. CLEMENT
Editor 1881–1905

FRANK B. TRACY
Editor 1910–1912

and good manners, must have entered the stricken Southern city as a sort of conquering hero. At the moment the leading Savannah paper, the Daily News, which had been well known throughout the country, was confiscated by the military authorities, and the young Northerner, evidently through his quite dazzling personal parts, for he was as yet quite inexperienced, was made its editor. It was greatly to his credit that he so performed his duties as editor of the News as to win the personal esteem even of the conquered Confederates. But then, as ever, he was an uneasy idealist. He had been nourished in the Abolitionist tradition, and his administration of the Savannah News slanted toward the acceptance of Negro equality in local affairs. After all, he was a 'carpet-bagger'; his task became increasingly difficult, and at the end of three years he was glad to give up the editorship of the News and go back North.

He seems to have walked into the New York Tribune office in the same easy way as that in which he had entered Savannah. He became in 1868 a reporter on that paper, and soon was made city editor. In New York he won the sobriquet of the Beau Brummel of the press. Incidentally he imbibed more idealism under Horace Greeley's influence. But, leaving the Tribune, he became successively the editor of the Newark, New Jersey, Register, and of the Elizabeth Daily Journal. It was early in 1875 that Mr. Hovey brought him over to Boston to be assistant editor of the Transcript.

As a writer, particularly in the field of music, the

drama, and the arts, Mr. Clement made good at once; and when Mr. Hovey resigned as editor in May, 1881, he was unhesitatingly chosen in his place by the ownership. Clement certainly dignified the position. No editor of the Transcript ever looked the part more completely. His acquaintance in the city became very large. But his administration led to certain clashes, which may be said to have extended throughout his editorial connection of twenty-five years, with important influences in the ownership of the paper. Clement was always enthusiastic in the welcome which his mind gave to new and hopeful reforms and causes, and often tenacious in the advocacy of the purposes which he espoused; but he was also of a somewhat scattering and sentimental basis of thought. His associations had the touch of elegance and of intellectuality upon them; and he undoubtedly entertained a considerable degree of contempt for solid business considerations either in politics, in public development, or in newspaper management. In politics, his early Abolitionist education and enthusiasms had made him a constitutional come-outer. An incident of the Blaine campaign of 1884 revealed his political habits. In that campaign Clement was accused by the Boston Journal of being 'a Democrat.' He answered in the Transcript that he had been brought up in the straitest of Republican sects, and considered himself still a Republican, but confessed that, in 1876, 'in company with Henry Cabot Lodge, and influenced by his example,' he had voted for Tilden. He differed from Lodge in the respect that really he never

quite squared himself with the Republican Party or any other. In this respect he thought he was following Transcript traditions.

Mr. Clement, at all events, maintained a fierce opposition to Blaine. An example of the sharpness of this opposition is the following poem, probably from Mr. Clement's own facile hand, published by the Transcript on its editorial page on July 3, 1884, which at least is a piece of skillful versification:

THE SITUATION

If knaves and fools predominate
In village, city, town or state,
From 'Frisco down to Maine,
Thou surely art the proper man
To lead this pandering, plundering clan —
Gillespie Jingo Blaine.

If patriotic sense prevail,
Which scorneth Party's tortuous trail,
Despising sordid gain,
Some humbler place must thee content;
Thou shalt not be the President —
Gillespie Jingo Blaine.

Experience and constructive skill
Are thine, and also strength of will,
Thy purpose to maintain;
But public conscience now demands
These gifts of God in honest hands —
Gillespie Jingo Blaine!

Clement's opposition extended even to the most honored figures in Massachusetts public life. On August 29, 1884, the Transcript had this editorial paragraph,

which is characteristic of Mr. Clement's turns of phrase:

> It grates on the Massachusetts ear to hear Senator Hoar called 'a tonguey politician,' 'shrewd and unscrupulous,' talking 'plausibly and with a pretense of knowledge to humbug and deceive his hearers.' But it ought to hurt harder still to have it demonstrated, as is done in a letter of David A. Wells printed on the second page to-day.

Wells was a well-known economist of the day, strongly Free-Trade, who had espoused Cleveland's cause. Mr. Clement himself held decidedly low-tariff views, and expressed them. This was one of the springs in his favor of Cleveland. When McKinley, then a Representative in Congress, brought in his bill for an increase in the tariff, the Transcript began a sharp campaign against 'McKinleyism.' This general course was maintained through Cleveland's first term as President, and through the term of Harrison, his successor. When, however, Cleveland was nominated for his second term in 1892, the paper's personal support of him had become considerably qualified. The Transcript was almost neutral in that campaign, yielding merely a nominal support to Cleveland, and that on the ground of his opposition to 'McKinleyism.'

Then came the campaign of 1896, in which McKinley was the Republican candidate for President. In the meantime the Democratic Party had become committed to the Bryan silver and inflationist heresy, to which the Transcript, and Clement himself, were unalterably opposed; and the Transcript now advocated McKinley's

election on sound-money grounds. The same was true in the campaign of 1900. Since 1892 the Transcript has never supported a Democratic nominee in a presidential election.

It speaks well for the respect with which the editorial judgment was traditionally treated by the Transcript ownership — for the really constant unwillingness of the owners or directors to interfere with editorial decisions and preferences — that, in spite of considerable differences of opinion on matters which both sides regarded as vital, Mr. Clement held the editorial helm for twenty-five years — that is, until November, 1905, when the divergence became too sharp for further accommodation. Mr. Clement retired on half-pay, and soon after was succeeded as editor by Mr. Robert Lincoln O'Brien, the Washington correspondent of the paper. Mr. Clement had taken over the writing of the 'Listener' column of essay and comment, which had been started by Joseph Edgar Chamberlin in February, 1887, and had been relinquished by him on removing to New York in 1901. Mr. Clement continued to write this column until 1920, when he died, at his daughter's home in Concord, as the result of too violent exercise, affecting his heart, in shoveling snow from the walk.

It was during the period of Mr. Clement's editorship that the Transcript acquired a quite unique position among American newspapers as a sort of general almoner of the people's charities. Even private needs and desperate situations found regular access to the coffers of the charitable through its department of 'Divers

Good Causes.' The paper indeed has always been conducting some helpful charitable agitation. It was Mr. Clement's characteristic always to be putting forward some reformatory cause. Such desirable things as the exclusion of the car tracks from Tremont Street opposite the Common were accomplished largely through the paper's agitation of them under his editorship. Mr. Clement was for woman suffrage, but opposed to prohibition. (It may be remarked here that the Transcript has always opposed prohibition, beginning, as we have noted, its criticism of the idea with an early opposition to 'Maine law.') Mr. Clement was distinctly a pacifist and an internationalist. Though he had been a great admirer of President Cleveland, he led, with the Transcript, in 1895 and 1896, a fierce opposition to the position taken by Mr. Cleveland and Secretary of State Olney against the British attempt to enforce its claims against Venezuela with regard to the boundary between that country and British Guiana. The controversy that raged in Boston on this question was one of the sharpest ever known in the history of the town, and for a time the Transcript was filled with letters denouncing its course as well as with others which heartily approved it. The paper held the view that the Cleveland administration was pushing the country to the verge of war without good cause.

During the period of Mr. Clement's régime the Transcript, as if by a sort of essential impetus in this direction, advanced considerably along the lines of art, musical, dramatic and literary criticism — a field, just

the same, which it had never neglected. Further record of this development will be made in a subsequent chapter.

Well-known editorial writers on the paper at this time and afterward were Edward Wentworth Hazewell, a man gifted with an extraordinary memory and possessing a store of information as well as ability, and Robert G. Fitch, formerly of the Boston Post and of the Journal. The 'Listener' column, started, as has been noted, by J. E. Chamberlin in 1887, was for some years a daily feature, and after that tri-weekly; it is still written by the same hand, though Mr. Clement himself wrote it from 1901 until 1920. (Mr. Chamberlin returned to the paper in 1915, and then started and still writes the 'Nomad' column.) Mr. William V. Alexander rapidly pushed forward the influence and enterprise of the Transcript in the matter of local news as city editor. It was he who pushed up the local news into first-page equality with the telegraphic news — a work in which he was ably succeeded by Jay B. Benton, afterward city editor for a long period and until his death in 1918; Mr. Benton's successor was Frank C. Bowker, who was city editor until his death in 1928. Mr. Frederick W. Ford, as the head of the telegraphic news department, led a new era in the presentation of the news of the world.

Though the Transcript's reporting staff in those days was small, it was extremely zealous and active. One brilliant news-gather, Joseph Barker, who was everywhere at all times, lost his life as the result of his zeal.

On January 10, 1893, he entered a burning building in Cambridge to get his 'story,' and was killed by a falling wall — perhaps furnishing the first instance of a reporter sacrificing his life in the line of his duty.

It was during Mr. Clement's editorship that a new influence, highly important in the history of the paper, began to be felt in the Transcript office. In the year 1889, Mr. George S. Mandell, second son of the president of the corporation, Samuel P. Mandell, joined the staff of the paper after graduation from Harvard. His advent was unaccompanied by any assertion of authority. He gave the impression of being a learner, as he was, and incidentally of being a keen observer and a sagacious adviser. He was in private life an enthusiastic sportsman, a rider, a connoisseur of horses. He was not a regular writer — though in the instances in which he did take up a pen he always expressed himself directly and pithily. Office politics seemed to go over his head. He was a steadying and inspiring influence. His personal influence increased rapidly as the result of a general recognition of the fact that he was, and is, an extremely fair and just man in all decisions. More and more questions of doubt, choice, or deliberation were referred to Mr. Mandell — but all the time he was unvarying in his refusal to interfere with the way in which any competent and conscientious man did his work. The tendency of his influence was and is toward advance in news directions and the expansion of the paper. His criticisms, though sometimes keen, are always without animus.

Mr. Mandell, with William Durant's age and declining powers, advanced to the position of a sort of controlling moderator of the establishment. It was under him that the Transcript's system, peculiar among the papers of the country, of the approximate independence of the departments, grew up. Mr. Mandell was practically a managing editor, but he did not assume that title. The Transcript became a sort of federated republic of departments. This form of departmental autonomy went so far that the nominal editor of the paper was once overruled in an attempt to change the headlines put over a news article. Sometimes inconsistencies arose between views taken or tendencies evinced in the different departments. Public surprise might be exhibited over such differences, but they went on without any sort of harm to the paper. When people expressed wonder at an occasional instance of this kind, Mr. Mandell simply answered: 'It works out well.'

So evidently it did, for the prosperity of the paper steadily increased. Its debts due to the fire of 1872 had long been extinguished. Its advertising patronage rose in bulk and in value, since it was recognized by advertisers that no other paper could reach the substantial classes as the Transcript did. The Transcript introduced linotype typesetting machines in 1895, and began printing news illustrations in 1909. Its beginnings in picture-printing were somewhat guarded. The first illustration was a reproduction of some of the frescoes in the new Congressional Library in Washington. There were some who feared a storm of criticism of this pic-

ture-printing, from conservative readers. No such storm came. The readers were on the whole very well pleased.

It was toward the end of Mr. Clement's administration that the Spanish-American War arrived in 1898. The Transcript, at least up to the outbreak of that war, was earnestly opposed to armed intervention in the affairs of Cuba. It regarded the proposition with quite as much hostility as the paper, in 1845 and 1846, had regarded the Mexican War. However, in conjunction with the New York Evening Post, it sent Mr. Chamberlin as correspondent at Tampa and in Cuba in the Santiago campaign.

CHAPTER XV

INCIDENTALLY, THE ART OF ADVERTISING

And a History of Transcript 'Ads' — Publicity-Evolution, from the Editorial Puff to the Page Advertisement — Early Appreciators of Printer's Ink — The Development of Scruple with Science.

ADVERTISING was a leading function with all early Boston newspapers. A large share of their meagre space was always devoted to 'announcements.' No paper made any attempt to belittle this function. The first number of the Transcript, July 24, 1830, consisted mainly of advertisements. Few of these could have been paid for; they were published in this prominent way in order to impress the public with an appearance of business, and their prominence tells its story of the leading importance of the advertising function in the newspapers of the day. We have seen that in his salutatory Editor Walter said: 'We shall openly seek patronage, but will not cringingly court it.... Our thoughts are our own, and we shall boldly express them.' The two ideas seem to have gone very well together at the start and all the way down through the history of the paper. Though there has been a steady advance in the care which has been exercised with regard to the advertising matter admitted, the scruple now observed was rather a stranger to the earlier days. The Transcript's advertising columns have steadily reflected the growing business and the commercial needs of the city, but no period is found in its history when the paper has not been quite frank in ex-

pressing its opinions, with a view to the broad credit and estimation of the paper and the advantage of the community rather than to immediate profit.

The first number, as has been noted, advertised every sort of thing for sale in the city, from blue vitriol, indigo, logwood, land, Wheel gin, St. Croix rum, Sillery champagne, grindstones, bank stocks, dry goods and clothing down to Missouri shot, palm-leaf fans and New Orleans molasses. The advertisements were published in solid masses, like the 'wants' or 'small ads' of to-day, relieved only by introductory capitals and little symbolic pictures — houses, ships, lost dogs, and so forth. Many Boston 'high society' names of to-day are found, often in connection with announcements of very humble commodities at retail, in this first number. A. and A. Lawrence advertise at retail not only Lowell carpets, but burlaps, shirtings, and London porter in quarts and pints. John A. Lowell advertises 'Draper's patent self-moving Temples' — whatever they may have been — at two dollars a pair. Thomas and Ebenezer Motley advertise molasses, Havana honey, and other groceries. Horace Scudder, father of the author and Atlantic editor, Horace E. Scudder, offers Genessee rye and flour. Thomas Wigglesworth has 'Chappas and bandannas, middlings and flour' for sale; William F. Weld deals in Manila cordage; Ed. Codman in Sillery champagne and port wine; George Channing in Tower's brandy — and so on. One will search the eleven columns of small, closely printed advertisements in vain for any other than a good Yankee name.

For a long time, advertisements occupied the whole of the first page of the paper; later, and within a few years, poetry, light miscellany and an occasional letter to the editor were admitted to that precinct. The editorial page, the second in the sheet, was always favored, as to a considerable extent it still is, with public and society announcements, and deaths and marriages. The most conspicuous advertisement in the early numbers of the Transcript is one of 'Stocks' — not bank or commercial stocks, but the cravats or bulky neckwear worn by gentlemen — for sale by Messrs Kimball, 12 Washington Street. Early advertisements offered books and music in an alluring way. In June, 1831, John Ashton, 197 Washington Street, advertised his whole list of new pieces of music, including the 'Vine Dressers' Song,' the 'Smugglers' Song,' the 'Arab Maid,' 'Hurrah for the Emerald Isle,' 'Let Thine Eyes on Mine Mildly Beaming,' 'Oh, Lovely Peace,' and 'Lieber Augustine!' In the same and a few following years, J. Chamberlin kept some very attractive real estate advertisements going, announcing sales of farms, and Maine lumbering property, at his 'land office' at 11 Exchange Street, which was next door to the Transcript office. There is nothing new under the sun; 'gold and silver fountain pens, making the use of an inkstand unnecessary,' were advertised September 29, 1831, by W. Felt and Company, Stationers' Hall, 82 State Street. In 1832 the advertising columns bristled with advertisements of the Waverley Novels. Abbott Lawrence and John A. Lowell offered for sale, February 6, 1832, 'Cotton goods and

woollen fabrics of every description, also boots, shoes, leather and wool' in behalf of the New England Society for the Promotion of Mechanic Arts. Intoxicating beverages, in that early day, figured conspicuously in the advertisements. The Transcript of November 24, 1830, announces for sale '20 bbls. superior Columbian whiskey, at 41 cents a gallon!' Similar advertisements were a constant feature.

The advertising columns of the paper began to compete, with results disastrous to that public functionary, with the Town Crier. May 29, 1832, the Transcript announced that 'Thomas Wilson, our strong-lunged friend, the city crier,' had been contemptuously yelled down by some rascals on the street. Mr. Wilson memorialized the city authorities for redress. The Transcript magnanimously recommended his grievance to the attention of the mayor. But it is clear that the Town Crier's day was about over.

The paper's little advertisements had from the start carried small pictures of ships, of houses, of stage coaches, in the case of each subject all alike, and even of the Nahant steamboat, at the left-hand upper side of each announcement, but the first special illustration with an advertisement was that of military and horse equipments, which was published September 19, 1832. Stage people may be interested in this 'ad,' March 13, 1833, of one of the earliest of the Barrymores — not related to either of the living Barrymores:

MRS. BARRYMORE begs leave to announce to her friends and patrons that she has taken a commodious house,

36 Boylston Street, 3d door from Tremont Street, where her DANCING ACADEMY will be opened April 4.

July 11, 1833, all advertisements in the Transcript appeared in much smaller, and indeed almost microscopic, type — actually of 'diamond' size, smaller than agate — and the paper contained a regretful notice that this measure of reduction had been compelled by the pressure of advertisements on its space. The management announced that the small size of the paper had proved so popular a feature with subscribers that it was determined not to increase the size, and that therefore no other course was open than to compress each advertisement into smaller space. The reduction in the size of the type had no discouraging effect on advertisers, who continued to crowd the paper's columns.

October 2, 1833, the paper contained the following advertisement, which reveals the commercial origins of a subsequent governor of Massachusetts — the advertiser in the case being the father of Governor Curtis Guild:

200,000 SPANISH CIGARS. — Pellon, La Fama, Dasamygos, Industria, Pervoisier & Son, Corajo and Fernandes Trabuco, together with some other Brands, some of which are very superior — for sale at 28 Merchants Row, by Curtis Guild.

Curiosities in advertising are found all along — such as this, in the Transcript of May 8, 1834:

GENTLEMEN'S WHISKERS constantly on hand, or made to order, either at wholesale or retail, at the lowest cash prices, at 196 Washington Street, opposite the Marlboro Hotel.

Display advertising was altogether eschewed for the first fourteen years of the Transcript's existence. In 1843, however, a man appeared in Boston retail trade whose ambitious projects appeared to necessitate a revolution in this regard. This was Mr. G. W. Simmons, whose first advertisement of a clothing store called Oak Hall appeared in January, 1843. He proposed to make his business effectively known to the people and did so on January 1, 1844, by means of an advertisement with real display, together with its neighboring advertisements on the same page. It certainly reveals prices for men's garments at very reasonable rates — the top figure for pantaloons being five dollars.

A certain curious latitude, a freedom of sharp comment, in dealing with business concerns, often appears in the early Transcripts. In September, 1834, the paper said that the Franklin Bank would give a dividend of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Next day this was denied in a communication from a director of the bank, who said that the dividend had 'neither been declared nor determined.' The Transcript answered sharply: 'If the bank divides only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, it is not the Transcript's fault. *We* did not tell the directors what notes to discount. Perhaps they wish to reserve the fraction.' In the same year an advertisement of a painting, on exhibition at Hardy's gallery, of 'Adam and Eve Expelled from Paradise,' by Dubufe, ran a long time; the Transcript said in a note that Adam and Eve were 'in their original garb.' March 10, 1835, the German residents of Boston published a notice, in the German language (correctly printed and

followed by a translation), calling a meeting to form a Benevolent German Society 'on the plan of similar societies in New York and Philadelphia,' to meet 'bei Herrn Pfaff, 761 Washington Street on the Neck.' A society was formed; its committee were Francis Graeter of Boston, Dr. Charles Follen of Cambridge, Math. Kraemer, A. Rimmele, and W. Kuhn.

It may be noted that the religious issue in politics probably made its first appearance in an advertisement in the Transcript in March, 1843, which in itself is proof that real news may get into the advertising columns of a newspaper. It was a notice addressed 'To the Catholic Voters of Boston and vicinity,' calling upon them to meet at Odeon Hall, on the evening of March 23, 'to take into consideration the conduct of the present House of Representatives in relation to the convent claims.' These were claims for compensation for the destruction of the Mount Benedict Convent by a mob. The advertisement went on to invite the presence at the meeting of 'Catholics who feel that the dominant party have insultingly trampled upon their rights.' The Transcript contained no report whatever of the resulting meeting at Odeon Hall, if there was such a meeting. The advertisement no doubt marked the inception of the opposition of Irish Catholic voters in Boston to the Whig party, and their long alliance with the Democrats.

It may be a little hard to follow the implications of this advertisement, of April 23, 1835:

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, second edition, much improved, illustrated with Portraits, &c., just published,

and for sale at Stationers' Hall, 82 State Street, by LEMUEL GULLIVER.

In the early days many advertisements were marked 't.f.,' which meant 'till forbidden.' The practice represented by this notice the paper sharply abolished in 1836, on the ground that too often the letters 't.f.' stood for an imposition on the proprietors.

Throughout the early years the editorial puff was a feature of the paper's advertising. These 'puffs' were written by the editor, in his customary style, and appeared among the regular editorial articles and paragraphs. Here is an example, from the Transcript of January 22, 1842:

OUR BOOTS. — We have been much pleased in seeing 'what a shine' our boots cut since we have used Holden's Blacking. Besides, the leather is preserved, and feels so much softer that, if there was no polish, we would not go without it. It is an excellent article, which we recommend to our friends. It may be found at 102 Court Street.

Another sample of the editorial puff, in the Transcript of April 1, 1841:

It is said that Whiting, 28 Winter Street, has some of the finest Port Wine in the city. If, in these temperance days, there are any who go so far as to taste a glass of this temperance wine, they will find the genuine article at the store above named.

The editorial puff disappeared with the advent of the fifties. That period, indeed, witnessed a great development of care as well as of dignity and scruple in the publication of advertisements.

Dutton and Wentworth had in the Transcript of July 8, 1842, a long and prominent advertisement commending their 'General Printing House,' in which this passage occurred:

> The Proprietors of this House, aware that great exertions have been made, and *measures* resorted to (for one or two years past) to withdraw a portion of their old and *substantial customers*, cannot but feel grateful for the unusual, as well as unexpected patronage they have received during that period, and would take this opportunity of expressing their thanks to that portion of the community who have patronized them so liberally.

This refers to attempts to get the State printing away from Dutton and Wentworth. The attempt failed. The Transcript continued for years to fly under its heading the words 'Published by Dutton and Wentworth, Printers to the State.'

A somewhat surprising advertisement for its time (July 2, 1842) is the following:

> TEMPERANCE WINE, or pure Grape Juice. — Received by the brig Hebe, from Marseilles, 50 gr. casks Malvoisie Wine, or Grape Juice, free from spirit, a rich and delicate article, selected in Europe especially for the Communion Table, and those who object to the use of wines enforced by spirits. For sale by Samuel Parker or Ralph Smith, 24 Exchange Street.

This does not appear to have been an unfermented grape juice; it probably referred to a 'natural wine,' not reënforced by spirit.

The Transcript advertised refrigerators for sale on July 11, 1839 — probably the first mention of this in-

vention. It is a curious circumstance that all theatrical advertisements — they had been a prominent feature ever since the paper was started — dropped out of the Transcript for several months in 1839. They reappeared, however, December 14, 1839, and it was evident that the theatres had been going on as usual in the mean time, but had not advertised. With December 14 reappeared also the theatrical editorial notices, which had also been suspended. It was quite customary, in the thirties and forties, for regular physicians to advertise. In the Transcript of November 21, 1831, and for several subsequent weeks, appears in the advertising columns the announcement that 'Dr. O. W. Holmes has taken an office at No. 34 Tremont Row.'

It was in 1840 that the first daguerreotypes were taken in Boston. The daguerreotypers' advertisements soon began to make their appearance in the Transcript. The first of these was in the form of a 'puff' of portraits of this sort taken by Mr. Darling, 62 Milk Street, which the notice pronounced 'the best taken in the city.' Soon afterward there were advertisements by Abel and Company, by the old photographic pioneer Hawes, and others.

Sometimes, in the old days, very peculiar and rather clever means of obtaining publicity were employed. In February, 1840, the Transcript noted that Brandreth, the pill-maker, had, in the Supreme Judicial Court, won a verdict of $6283 against B. B. Mussey for counterfeiting his pills. The Daily Advertiser said, and the Transcript copied the statement, that Brandreth had paid

Mussey a large sum to attempt the counterfeiting of his pills, in order to pave the way for a verdict against him; the object being to get the proceedings into the papers and establish the excellence of the pills. 'This,' said the Daily Advertiser — and the Transcript echoed it — 'may be called the quackery of the law.'

An advertisement in the Transcript of January 1, 1844, is extremely revelatory as to the living customs of the time. It is mainly addressed to the honorable members of the Legislature who had occasion to sojourn in Boston during the session, and is as follows:

TO REPRESENTATIVES AND GENTLEMEN WISHING BOARD. Board will be furnished with the first accommodations, for three dollars pr. week, the second for two dollars and seventy-five cents, the third for two dollars and fifty cents. The fare will be turkey, roast beef, and mock turtle soup, every day, if they wish, and pies and puddings. The location is pleasant and central. Please apply at No. 7 Pearl Place.

Also, wanted, a Young Man, competent to take charge of twenty gentlemen; one who is capable of waiting on and taking care of the table, and also can bring good recommendations.

A curiosity in advertising was certainly the following, from the Transcript of March 29, 1845:

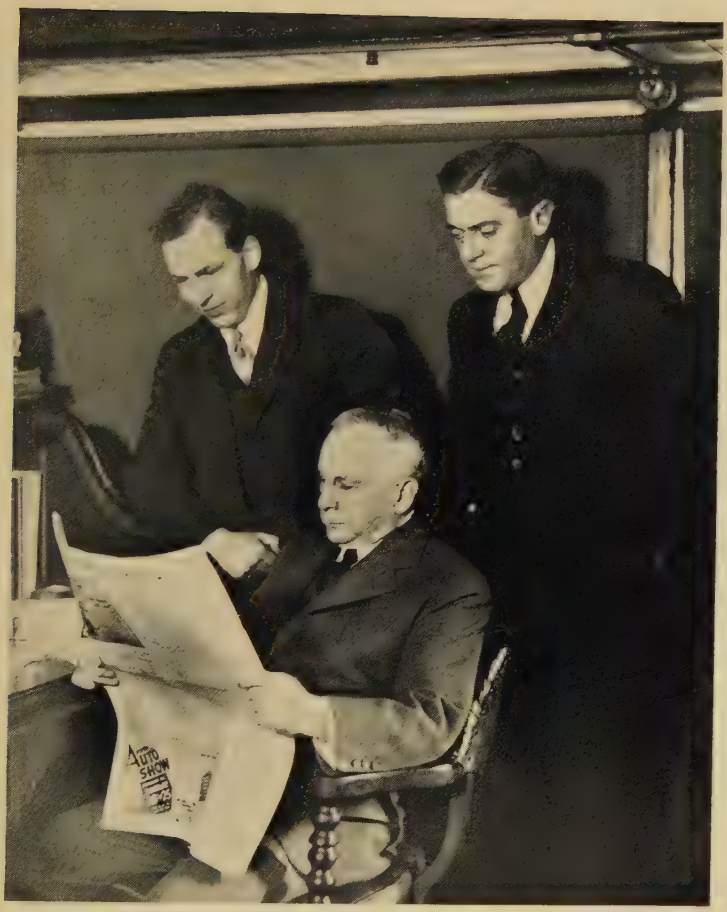
THE CHRISTIAN ISRAELITES will continue to hold a public meeting every Sunday afternoon at the house of J. H. Moses, No. 1 Ballard Place. All who are disposed are invited to attend. We have a few volumes of Divine Communications given since 1819, for the purpose of gathering the Twelve Tribes of Israel.

An editorial notice in another part of the paper ac-

companied this advertisement. Ballard Place, the scene of this meeting, was the alley leading out of Bromfield Street. Whether these Christian Israelites were of some type of Christian theorists, or whether they were in part converts from Judaism, does not appear in any contemporary record. Probably they were the former. In the same year, the Transcript having published an advertisement announcing the loss of a 'small lady's watch,' the paper published an apology for the 'ridiculous mistake,' and explained that the advertisement had 'escaped the eye of the editor.' It was not an unusual thing at this time to illustrate advertisements in a picturesque manner.

Up to the fifties, and we may also say extending into the sixties, newspaper advertising seemed to have been a casual or hit-or-miss sort of thing, as a business enterprise. It consisted of such advertisements as were brought into the office, sometimes directly to the compositors, and put in type without much care or inquiry. Little by little advertising developed into a science and an art, with experts to take care of it. Little in the way of soliciting advertisements was done before the seventies, when the greatly increasing number of display advertisements became conspicuous in the paper. Still, and doubtless well into the eighties, the advertising department and its 'staff' consisted of one man.

The growing prominence of William Durant in the business management of the Transcript was a great gain for scruple — that is, for a form of 'editing.' Mr. Durant would abide nothing dubious, nothing disrepu-



Left: THOMAS P. MANDELL, SON OF THE OWNER
Right: GEORGE E. STEPHENSON, TREASURER
LOUIS M. HAMMOND, BUSINESS-MANAGER

table, nothing questionable. The Transcript's advertising columns became the cleanest, and on the whole the best trusted, in the city. The respectable and intelligent character of its readers no doubt exacted scruple in its advertising, and the evidence of care added to the estimation of the paper among such people. Probably no other paper has rejected so many advertisements as the Transcript has. It receives, for instance, no advertisements of massage, because certain massage practitioners have been disreputable, and it is impossible to investigate all cases. No ostensible or ostentatious 'widower' may advertise for a housekeeper. Advertisements with a loud or uncouth arrangement of type are excluded. 'Business opportunities' are most carefully scrutinized, and nothing shadily promissory admitted, even if it is offered by apparently respectable persons. This system of scrupulous care, while shutting out many advertisements, has resulted in such confidence in the advertising columns that it has doubled the volume of the paper's advertising and trebled the rate in recent years, with no corresponding increase in the paper's circulation. Its advertising patronage, moreover, is obtained at a less expenditure than that of any other large daily paper.

It is a noteworthy fact that the Transcript's national advertising — that which goes all over the country, representing nation-wide interests — is in amount and return three times that of a Boston paper which has several times the circulation. This is due to the recognized quality of the circulation.

An incident related to the present writer by the late Colonel Charles H. Taylor, who made the Boston Globe, illustrates the business hold that the Transcript long since obtained in the community. Colonel Taylor said that he once spent a great deal of time and money in getting the farmers, boarding-house keepers, and hotels of the New England States to advertise summer board attractions in the Globe. He sent out agents all over New England to stimulate this form of advertising, and by this enterprising means obtained for that paper a whole page of summer board advertisements. 'And what do you think happened?' said Colonel Taylor; 'why, the next year every one of these advertisements appeared in the Transcript, completely deserting the Globe!' And Colonel Taylor added: 'If you were to lock the doors of the Transcript business office and board up the front, the advertisers would climb four flights of stairs to the composing room and insist on having their advertisements put in!' The last statement was no doubt an intentional exaggeration, to enforce the point. The suggestion about boarding up the front certainly could never have been adopted, for one of the Transcript's steps in its business advance was the organization of a very effective advertising department staff, headed by Mr. William F. Rogers.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Development of Departments — Great Changes from Early Days — A Religious Interest Marches Side by Side with News Activities

LIKE other successful daily papers the world over, the chief business of the Boston Transcript, in the early twentieth century, has consisted of the record of news and movements of material development — and along with them it has naturally grown in size and increase of scope. A busy and materially progressive world — it is true of Europe as well as of America — had demanded of its newspapers increase of enterprise, the daily record of a much wider field of affairs, and attention to a thousand details of life and amusement which the older journalists seldom or never thought of treating. The number of habitual newspaper readers has increased by literal millions, and the majority of these readers have been less interested in matters of opinion, less in any task of intellectual or moral guidance assumed by a newspaper, than in the multifold details of action and amusement. The great variety of new reading to be offered has led to the upgrowth of various departments in the columns of the papers — of all daily papers. Millions of new readers are interested chiefly in sports and games. In response to their demand, the papers daily publish whole pages of sporting news. No daily newspaper is exempt from this demand. This develop-

ment of life led, in the Transcript, first to the establishment of a sporting department long and still a national authority in all amateur sports — it is edited by A. Linde Fowler — and later to a department of Bridge. By a swing of the popular pendulum the other way, it led also to the establishment by the Transcript of a quite unique church department, in which — for the paper of to-day, unlike that early Transcript, which avowed itself Episcopalian in sentiment, takes no side on religious questions — news and discussions are published which reflect the interests of all recognized communions.

The great development of flying and the interest in it has led to the establishment of a regular department of aviation. When the radio came on, and everybody had a wireless set in his house, a radio department was established. As already noted, the paper's early interest in educational matters had led, very soon after the dawn of the twentieth century, to the institution of a School and College department, and this department grew so markedly that subsequently it furnished an editor for the paper. The Transcript had already been giving a good deal of space to business news, and this interest led to the assignment of different days to different branches of Boston's commercial interests — to articles on iron and steel on Monday, cotton goods and silk on Tuesday, flour and grain on Wednesday, wool on Thursday, food markets on Friday, and records of corporations on Saturday. The old Genealogical and Notes and Queries departments — the first a development of the second — were still maintained, with persons of

special knowledge or skill in these matters to conduct them. The literary or book department, which by 1918 began to exact a special section or supplement of the paper, underwent a marked development in the mean time.

The conspicuous impulsion noted in this spread of departments has been notably carried on since 1905, when Mr. Clement retired from the editorial chair, under four chief editors in succession. 'Editorial charge,' under modern circumstances, becomes a general, a broad-view thing, rather than a thing of details. Naturally no one man could ever devote attention to all the details of such an expanded paper. The influence of the editor may be felt all along the line, but his direct personal hand is seldom seen except on the editorial page and the page opposite to it. In the direction of the whole complicated system in the Transcript, however, appears the moderating hand and fertile suggestiveness of Mr. George S. Mandell, in whom is focussed the ownership-succession and directing authority of a hundred years.

Before presenting the individual records of the four men who have held the position of editor-in-chief since 1906, and while the subject of departments is up, an account must be made of the useful influence of Mr. Herbert H. Fletcher, who joined the staff in 1897, coming in from the office of the New England Associated Press as a sort of news manager. His entrance coincided with a change in the Associated Press news service which it will be of interest to record and explain here, since the business of news-gathering and distribution is more or

less a mystery to the general public. For thirty or forty years prior to 1892, the Associated Press business of the country — that is, the business of distributing news — was conducted by the New York Associated Press and its allies, these allies being the Western Associated Press, the Southern Associated Press, the New York State Associated Press, and the New England Associated Press. In 1892, the New York Associated Press merged with the United Press, a rival organization, at the head of which were Charles A. Dana, editor, and William L. Laffan, manager, of the New York Sun. Objecting to the management of the latter, the Western Associated revolted and undertook a commercial war for the control of the press business of the country. After five years of struggle, it succeeded, and in 1897 assumed complete control of all the associations named above, whose members became units in the present Associated Press.

Mr. Fletcher, as assistant managing editor of the Transcript, developed and stimulated several new departments. He took general charge of the financial page, and expanded it from a half column or so of comment and a table of stock quotations to much greater dimensions and a broader economic scope. The School and College Department received his attention; it soon had its own man — who happened to be Mr. Henry T. Claus, the present editor — at the head of it. Mr. Fletcher greatly developed, and for a long time had direct charge of the department of Current Comment, which reflected all sorts of newspaper views on public

questions, whether or not they agreed with the views of the Transcript. The department of Business News received his attention; and finally, he greatly developed the department of Religious Intelligence, inventing the feature of the 'Churchman Afield,' which a leading college president has pronounced 'a great factor in the religious life of the country.' Mr. Fletcher had the management of this department from the start and still retains it. The amount of correspondence involved in the conduct of this department of church news, and evoked by it, would be almost incredible to an outsider.

The Transcript had always, from its earliest days, been an industrious digger out of interesting tid-bits, original and selected, for the benefit of its readers, but it was not until 1899 that it raised the purveying of merely interesting original matter — hinged, no doubt on the news, but not a part of its direct or immediate publication — into a separate department, to be called the Magazine Department. This matter has ever since been a feature of the Wednesday and Saturday issues of the paper. The articles in this department have been largely descriptive, but there is no other requirement than that they shall be interesting and pertinent. They include contributions from outside, as well as special work on the part of regular members of the staff. At first these articles were not illustrated, but since about the year 1910 they frequently carry pictures. The first editor of this department was J. E. Chamberlin; he was succeeded in 1901 by Mr. Rollin Lynde Hartt; he in turn by Mr. Burton Kline, and he in 1918 by Mr.

Theodore E. Quinby, who still conducts the department. These articles cover the whole world. In a sense, they correspond with the original miscellany published by the Sunday papers. The Transcript, by the way, long had a weekly edition, but has never had a Sunday edition.

CHAPTER XVII

THE NATIONAL IMPULSE

The Transcript at Washington and in the Political World — Robert Lincoln O'Brien's Editorship — Affairs at the Turn of the Century — The Tragic Episode of Frank B. Tracy.

When Mr. E. H. Clement, who had become editor in June, 1881, and who continued in that capacity until April 1, 1906, retired, he did not cease to be connected with the paper, but, having taken up the writing of the 'Listener' in 1901, he continued to write that column twice a week until his death in 1920, when Mr. Chamberlin, its founder in 1887, took the department up again. Mr. Clement was succeeded in the editorship by Mr. Robert Lincoln O'Brien, who had first been connected with the paper as a reporter in 1891, and who, since 1895, had been its efficient and popular Washington correspondent. Mr. O'Brien, the son of Patrick O'Brien, a native of Ireland, and of his wife, Lydia Howard Dunham, of an old New England family, was born at North Abington, Massachusetts, September 4, 1865. His coming brought another Harvard man to the Transcript's editorial chair, for though, after graduating at the Bridgewater Normal School, he had gone to Dartmouth for a year, young O'Brien then transferred himself to Harvard, and graduated from the university in 1891. After working on the Transcript for a time as a reporter, Mr. O'Brien became one of the secretaries of President Grover Cleveland, and served in that capacity

until the Transcript made him its Washington correspondent in 1895. His connection with White House affairs gave Mr. O'Brien a wide acquaintance with public men and an intimate knowledge of political matters. His Washington letters had been nothing less than brilliant, and he imparted much of the same quality of lively interest to his editorial writings.

A study of the files of the Transcript for the year 1906, when Mr. Clement had gone out and Mr. O'Brien had come in, reveals a paper which seems somewhat restricted when compared with the present issues — no pictures except in the advertisements; departments each occupying but a column or two; headlines in what now seems to be inconspicuous type — but after all showing that things in Boston and in the newspaper offices were going on in very much the same general way that they are going now. The paper was very independent politically. The issue of January 1, 1906, carried this pseudo-Tennysonian quatrain, among its editorials:

> Ring out the old, ring in the new,
> Ring out the false, ring in the true,
> Ring out Tom Platt and C. Depew —
> Ring in an honest man or two!

We find that the Senate then, as some people say it is now, was 'representing the Great Interests, not the people.' 'The spread of imperialism' was a leading concern of Letters to the Editor. But the twentieth century had already taken on the character that seems to mark it. The Anti-Saloon League was working and agitating. There were automobile shows, and the paper was giving

JAMES T. WILLIAMS, JR.
Editor 1912–1924

ROBERT LINCOLN O'BRIEN
Editor 1905–1910

increased attention to the motor industry. The Transcript of January 13, 1906, had an exposure of faked antiques, together with a discussion of the prospects of American withdrawal from the Philippines. The then — it is the present — arrangement of Copley Square was denounced as 'an architectural solecism'; the familiar initials H. T. P. were found at the bottom of extended musical and dramatic reviews; and the 'Listener' was carrying on a crusade against the word 'gotten.' On the whole, the Transcript reader of to-day would find himself much at home in the 1906 paper.

But a change was nevertheless going on. It was during Mr. O'Brien's administration, but without any urging from him, that the Transcript began printing illustrations in the news departments. Or perhaps it should be said that it resumed them, for its publication of a few news pictures in the eighteen-forties has already been recorded. Certainly for a good many years the use of pictures had been completely eschewed. To Mr. William Durant, as we have seen, they were anathema. After 1909 they came in thick and fast. To the surprise of the more conservative of the Transcript people, pictures were welcomed and appreciated by the readers. Up-to-date methods of make-up were introduced. Matters of leading news interest, no matter whether they were local, social, financial, sporting, or what not, obtained prominence on the first page.

Mr. O'Brien had the advantage of an enlarged and an able staff. Editorial writers were Edward W. Hazewell, who had been with the paper since 1881, and had written

editorials on political and other public affairs from Washington, but who now returned to the home office; and Robert G. Fitch, formerly of the Post, a brilliant man with a strongly humorous touch. Editorial articles were regularly contributed by Edward E. Edwards, the original 'Facts and Fancies' man, and others. On the staff, as editor of the Wednesday and Saturday 'magazine features' or articles of general interest — which now achieved illustration — was Rollin Lynde Hartt; he and his assistant, Frank B. Tracy, who afterward became editor for a couple of years, were general contributors. Mr. Edwin Francis Edgett was expanding the book department, and Henry T. Parker was making something new and commandingly interesting, as well as authoritative, of the musical and dramatic department.

In the editorial control, the public no doubt noted that the paper's tone, along about here, became more conservative than it had been. Mr. Clement had been an irrepressible idealist, a habitual reformer, as all the city knew. He had embraced, conscientiously, 'isms' that now and then made cold shivers run up and down Boston backs. Mr. O'Brien began by sharply opposing government operation of public or semi-public services. His hostility to all forms of governmental socialism had the approval of the ownership. Essentially, since no editor owned the paper, purely editorial latitude in opinion was, as it must always be under such circumstances, more or less a grant of power. Nevertheless the editorial liberty was great, and was seldom abridged.

The paper went on smoothly with its readers during Mr. O'Brien's administration.

It is a good place here to note the way in which a paper such as the Transcript handles its news from the capital of the country. Though the Transcript, in its early years, had made a point of avoidance of political controversy, it had early developed a great deal of interest in national affairs. It could hardly have represented Boston sentiment if it had not done so. Even in the eighteen-thirties and eighteen-forties, as before noted, it had a good many letters from Washington. They were of a merely occasional character and probably were written by various hands. John Quincy Adams's heroic campaign to force petitions against slavery upon the attention of the House of Representatives, in spite of the rule of the House that all such petitions should be instantly laid on the table without reading or discussion, was regularly chronicled. Adams read these petitions as a portion of his remarks under personal privilege, and thus 'got them over' in spite of storms of interruption and abuse. Day after day his defiance of suppression was recorded. But the Transcript had no regular Washington correspondent before William B. Shaw, who represented the paper there from 1861 until 1895. Mr. Shaw was succeeded at Washington, and succeeded very efficiently, by Mr. O'Brien. Upon succeeding Mr. Shaw, Mr. O'Brien established himself in the Corcoran building at Washington, joining forces with Francis E. Leupp, correspondent of the New York Evening Post. They remained together until Mr.

Leupp became Commissioner of Indian Affairs under President Roosevelt.

Mr. O'Brien served as Transcript correspondent at Washington under three Presidents — Cleveland, McKinley, and Roosevelt. He was well regarded by all of these Presidents. His standing with them gave him advantages in the news field which were possessed by few Washington correspondents of his day. President Roosevelt made it a habit to consult him about public matters.

The telephone calls from the White House usually came shortly after noon — the message that always came over the wire being, 'The President wants you to come over at once.' In those days Mr. Roosevelt did his talking to his favorites among the newspaper men while he was having his midday shave. Many exclusive stories were obtained by Mr. O'Brien while the President was in the barber's chair. During the decade when Mr. O'Brien was in Washington for the Transcript, he made a specialty of a daily letter signed 'Lincoln.' This letter was always from a column and a half to two columns in length, and discussed national affairs with great understanding.

The Transcript's Washington service now came to be much appreciated by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge; but before Roosevelt became President neither Lodge nor Roosevelt had been quite so appreciative of the influence of the paper. In a letter to Henry Cabot Lodge (April 27, 1899), Theodore Roosevelt, who was then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, wrote, apropos of the reception

of a speech of his at Chicago in which he denounced 'fool reformers':

> It [the speech] seems to have attracted attention of an adverse sort in Massachusetts, as I have been continually receiving marked copies of the Transcript, Herald and Springfield Republican containing editorials and letters by thoughtful publicists which take a very black view of my character, antecedents and prospects.

In his reply to this letter, Mr. Lodge, who was then abroad, expressed his agreement with what Roosevelt said about reformers, and added, 'It is pleasant to know that the "fool reformer" recognizes himself when he is mentioned.' Mr. Lodge said nothing in his letter about either of the papers mentioned, but he was not averse, later, to welcoming the support in his own campaigns of all of them.

For many years the Transcript's Washington correspondence was carefully noted by the statesmen. In April, 1908, when it was a question whether the Massachusetts Republican Convention should pass resolutions expressing a preference for Taft as the party's nominee for President, Representative A. P. Gardner, seeking President Roosevelt's approval of the resolutions, wired from Boston to William Loeb, the President's secretary:

> Believe chances of passing resolutions of preference excellent. Think O'Brien, of Boston Transcript, judges situation wrongly.

Mr. O'Brien had said in fact that the Republican leaders did not want these resolutions, and he knew well

what he was talking about. President Roosevelt himself, at Senator Lodge's request, at once telegraphed to Gardner a distinct veto on the passage of the resolutions, on the ground that it might have a damaging effect on Mr. Lodge's influence.

Mr. O'Brien's correspondence in the Transcript was practically uncontrolled from the home office. It continued at one time and another occasionally to worry the Roosevelt-Lodge influence. Mr. Lodge wrote from Nahant to Roosevelt, October 10, 1908, at a time when Mr. O'Brien was writing letters from the West about the progress of the presidential campaign:

> O'Brien of the Transcript — a strong Taft man — is publishing doleful letters by himself — one from Washington to the effect that everybody is scared almost helpless. To-night he writes from Ohio most dismally — says the religious issue has been revived on Taft's Unitarianism, and that the Protestant clergy are all against him. Good heavens! Are we to elect presidents on a creed? The mere reviving of the issue is intolerable. Then he adds that Harris is sure to be elected and that Taft is in danger. Walker of the Herald has been writing from the west in much the same way. Crane is sending doleful messages from New York. Altogether I have got worried.

Senator Lodge really had no occasion for worry as regarded Ohio, which next month went safely enough for Taft. But the Republican leaders were certainly frightened over another article, which appeared in the Transcript of October 19, on the Religious Issue in the 1908 campaign. This article was based on the idea that many thousands of former Republicans were voting for Bryan on the ground that he was what we afterward learned to

call a Fundamentalist, while Mr. Taft was a Modernist. Hannibal L. Hamlin called on President Roosevelt to get a declaration as to Taft's religious belief. This proposition Roosevelt negatived with some fierceness. He wrote to another inquirer at the same time: 'If there is one thing for which we stand in this country, it is for complete religious freedom and for the right of every man to worship his Creator as his conscience dictates.'

Mr. O'Brien left Washington in 1906 to become the editor of the Transcript. He was succeeded at Washington by James T. Williams, Jr., who came to the capital in 1901 from Greenville, South Carolina, to become correspondent of the State (newspaper) of Columbia, South Carolina. The following year he became a member of the Washington staff of the Associated Press, remaining with that organization for four years. Mr. Williams's keenest interest was in the army and navy. During his period of service as the chief of the Washington bureau the Transcript came to be recognized as an authority in matters relating to these two branches of the Government. In 1909 Mr. Williams was made a member of the Civil Service Commission. About this time his health made it necessary for him to sojourn for a time in Arizona. In 1912, with restored health, he returned East and became the editor of the Transcript.

During the régime of Mr. Williams the Transcript enlarged its Washington bureau, Mr. William E. Brigham going there as Mr. Williams's assistant. When Mr. Williams accepted the appointment to the Civil Service Commission, Mr. Brigham was made the chief of the

bureau. Mr. Brigham, as Mr. O'Brien had done, devoted much attention to a daily letter to the Transcript in which he discussed the business of the Government in a thoroughgoing way. He was particularly well equipped to discuss financial and economic subjects. He returned to Boston early in 1925, to become an editorial writer on the Transcript, a position which he still holds.

Mr. Theodore G. Joslin went to Washington, from the home office of the paper, in December, 1916, as assistant to Mr. Brigham. Throughout his service, which still continues, he has made national politics a specialty, touring the country in each campaign, and forecasting the results with peculiar sagacity and surprising success. Mr. Joslin possessed in a marked degree the confidence of President Coolidge throughout his incumbency, and was able to give the Transcript many authoritative articles dealing with the executive department. With him has been associated in the Transcript's service at Washington Mr. Oliver McKee, Jr., who had been an editorial writer on the Transcript, writing much on international topics, for which he has marked qualifications.

Mr. O'Brien resigned as editor of the Transcript November 1, 1910, to become editor of the Boston Herald. There was an interregnum of a few months, with Mr. Hazewell temporarily occupying the editorial desk. The man who was called to take his place was Mr. Frank Basil Tracy, who had come to the paper in 1896 as an assistant at a small salary. Mr. Tracy's advent and his subsequent advance constituted an unwonted

episode in the history of the paper. A native of Iowa, he was pronouncedly a Western man. Mr. O'Brien, then in Washington, had 'discovered' him as the editor of a small weekly paper at Langdon, North Dakota — a little town far on the northern border. Tracy's arrival in Boston created some surprise among the members of the Transcript staff. He appeared then as a rather uncouth figure. But as an assistant in the magazine department he developed great aptitude and resource in getting contributions from all sorts of prominent people. A skillful hand in this sort of work, he eventually succeeded Mr. Hartt in the management of the magazine or 'feature' department. He was a 'go-getter' — an ingenious purveyor, a modern man; and very diligent and industrious. He was readily selected as Mr. O'Brien's successor in 1910.

It is likely that his very diligence proved his physical ruin. As editor, Mr. Tracy had the Associated Press call him up at his home at night, when anything of importance occurred, in order that, by the telegraph or telephone, he could prepare for its adequate treatment in the Transcript next day. His health was undermined by editorial activity and lack of sleep. He became nervously and mentally overwrought, and in 1912 was compelled to go to the Butler Hospital in Providence, in the hope of obtaining relief from a highly strained nervous condition. After three months in that institution, he departed one night through a window (he might have walked out of the door without interference), took a Providence boat to New York without

securing a berth or recording his name, and was never seen again.

A brilliant man, Mr. Tracy undoubtedly wrecked his nervous organization by the intensity, as well as the misdirection, of a very high-strung mental activity. He was an excellent writer, and in 1908 published a very good book, a 'Tercentenary History of Canada.'

CHAPTER XVIII

AN ÆSTHETIC APOSTLESHIP

A Mirror of Development in American Music, Literature, the Drama, and the Graphic Arts — Æsthetic Gods of the Nineteenth Century — The Fame of Billings and Holden Succeeded by that of the Symphony Orchestra — Books, Pictures, a Leading Interest.

He who writes a history of American journalism, as it may be said to have unfolded itself up to the present time, will hardly be able to overlook the Transcript's record along the lines of æsthetic influence. There has never been a time, within the period covered by the paper's existence, when Boston itself was not distinguished for the leadership in the country's æsthetic development, and the paper, as has been noted in preceding pages, has always sought to reflect this interest.

Boston had long led the country in music. Concerts were nightly affairs, even in 1830. The Handel and Haydn Society, founded in 1824, gave regular and well-attended concerts from the date of its organization. The Transcript of February 23, 1839, says that 'Boston is to be distinguished among the cities of the Union as the musical as well as the literary emporium. Musical societies without number and of every possible description have sprung into existence in the past few years, and the lovers of harmony are favored with frequent opportunities of listening to the sublime compositions of Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and the Chevalier Neukomm, or the enchanting strains of Auber, Boieldieu

Rossini and Bellini.' The gods of 1839 may be dead, but it is a Boston-born poet who has told us that when half-gods go the gods arrive. April 26, 1839, there were six concerts, all considered publicly worth while, on one night. The Transcript of March 13, in the same year, had a long review, signed 'Burchell,' of the production of the oratorio of 'David' by the Handel and Haydn — the first instance in the paper, or perhaps in the country, of a signed concert criticism. Nothing further regarding Mr. Burchell is brought out in the paper. At the period there was a considerable musical interest in the Billings and Holden Musical Society, the praiseworthy organization which had long honored and preserved the work of two New England psalmodists, William Billings and Oliver Holden. This society's purpose, as a published card at the time explained, was to enjoy and celebrate the old Yankee psalmody, and to 'revive that style of music which has been among the fondest associations of bygone years.' The society flourished for about a score of years, but eventually disappeared from view, and the old Yankee psalmody perished. The triumph of Handel and Haydn over Billings and Holden was complete. But concerts and operas of the newer music never ceased.

There were, however, popular reactions against a too rapid musical advance. The public taste must have developed very slowly, for the Transcript of July 12, 1839, records that the City Council having voted to have a band play once a week, in the evenings, on the Common, the Salem band had played the previous

evening; but the performance was utterly drowned by the yells and catcalls of riotous boys. The Transcript says that there was no use in trying to hold out-of-door concerts. Nevertheless, æsthetic persistence won as against vulgar scorn. It was like a battle for the rights of art, a battle bequeathed from musical sire to son, until the Boston Symphony Orchestra was formed in 1881. That event marked the definitive triumph of the love of good music. The victory was in large measure due to the public spirit and generosity of a typical member of the old-time cultured mercantile families, Henry L. Higginson, who carried the burden of the Symphony's deficits for many years. Although the Symphony Orchestra has never had a native American as its conductor — the line of conductors is Henschel, Gericke, Nikisch, Fiedler, Paur, Muck, Rabaud, Monteux, Koussevitzky — and though the majority of its performers have been of European birth and training, its maintenance has always been regarded as a matter of duty as well as pride by the true and traditional Boston people. One word to the honor of the musical development of the first half of the nineteenth century must be said. It was mainly a spontaneous New England thing. Though we had our Ostenellis and our Papantis, the leading musical and critical arbiters of the period were such men as Lowell Mason and Dr. John S. Dwight. Development was largely based on choral societies composed almost wholly of the native element. The Transcript may be fairly credited with maintaining at least the critical tradition with the

work, in the last part of the nineteenth century, of the man who is described in Grove's Dictionary as the foremost of American musical critics, William Foster Apthorp, author of many books of authority in the domain of music.

Though Mr. E. H. Clement had been devoting especial attention, as assistant editor, during the period from 1874 to 1881, to dramatic and musical subjects, it was not until the latter year that the paper had an especial musical and dramatic department, under men who devoted their whole attention to the subject. Then Francis H. Jenks and Mr. Apthorp took up that function — Mr. Apthorp writing the leading critical articles on both music and the theatre, while Mr. Jenks did the regular and constructive work of the department, and indeed everything that Mr. Apthorp did not choose to take in hand. Mr. Apthorp was an accomplished scholar and linguist, speaking all the leading languages of Europe, including Turkish, and being deeply versed in musical and dramatic literature. It was quite impressive, in the outer room, to hear his conversation in German, French, Italian, or Spanish, in meeting musical geniuses from abroad. Now and then, his criticisms may have appeared somewhat too redolent of erudition. Mr. Apthorp's arrival on the paper was practically contemporaneous with the establishment of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, criticism upon whose performances and programs he continued to write until he was succeeded in this duty, for a time, by Mr. Edwin F. Edgett. He in turn, as he

took over the book department, was followed in 1903 by Mr. Henry T. Parker. Mr. Apthorp retired to Europe and died in 1913. Mr. Parker's able administration of the department is still maintained. He is more interested in the production of music, and the reaction to it of the cultivated spirit of the time, than in the reminiscent lore which he himself has referred to as its 'archæology.'

The Transcript might fairly claim that from the start it was the leading arbiter of literary questions in Boston. It had hailed at its inception the Pioneer, the high-class literary journal founded in 1834 by James Russell Lowell and others. The Pioneer's fine work was warmly praised as long as the magazine existed, and its suspension in April, 1843, was duly deplored. The Transcript hailed with due and judicious praise the edition of the first volume of Whittier's poems in June, 1843, commending the author for 'manly vigor of thought combined with true poetic feeling and patriotic ardor.' Books were always a matter of especial interest with the Transcript's early editors. A very curious 'book note' was the paper's republication on August 25, 1843, of a long and enthusiastic account in Graham's Magazine — then the leading literary journal of the country — of Burnham's antique bookstore in Cornhill. The article described 'four stories filled with Puritan theology, war clubs, transcendental philosophy and Polynesian gods.' (The Cornhill store, after a long interval under the Old South Meeting House, still exists, but what has become of the Polynesian gods?)

In the matter of books, the woman editor, Miss Walter, occupied a somewhat controversial position. Her literary tastes were very conservative and her criticisms were often touched with acerbity. She first got into hot water when, on the occasion of a lecture in November, 1843, by Nathaniel P. Willis, who was reckoned a great poetic light at the time, and who was also of Boston origin, Miss Walter said that Willis 'was a good writer, but had not force enough either of mind or matter to appear well as a public speaker.' This comment was turned sharply against Willis in New York, where he then lived. It was an era of personal journalism. But the Transcript soon made it up with Willis by ardently puffing his books, and he afterward wrote a great deal for the paper. His poetry frequently appeared in the Transcript's columns — though the leading contributor of original verse to the paper for a long period was Mr. George Lunt.

Mr. Epes Sargent's editorship of the paper, as we have already seen, was marked with a distinct attention to literary and other artistic matters. The Transcript office vied with the Old Corner Bookstore and the famous Ticknor sanctum as a resort for the poets and other authors of the time. None of these, apparently, failed of frequent visits to the Transcript. In those days there was a great deal of Latin, as well as French, in the paper. On March 5, 1845, a long and serious explanation of the nature and significance of Transcendentalism, signed 'Orphic,' ended with these words: 'Multa esse constat in scientia quorum vim, rationem-

que, nemo perspicere, nisi qui studet, potest.' It was assumed that with the Transcript's readers the sentence needed no translation.

It was before Mr. Sargent came, and during Miss Walter's administration, that the new Boston Theatre in Federal Street was opened (June 30, 1846) with great ceremony, and with public proceedings including a prize poem by Mrs. Frances S. Osgood. Editorially, however, Miss Walter had little to say about the event. She contented herself with an article warmly protesting against 'the use of profane language by the comedians of the theatre.' In this regard she would have had all plays censored. Bostonians of the present generation, who are thoroughly accustomed to having the passage of sidewalks blocked by conversation parties, may be amused to learn that this Boston habit was sharply satirized at the public exercises of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Mercantile Library Association at Tremont Temple, October 14, 1846. The poet of the occasion describes the participants in these sidewalk parties as 'each bored to death, yet knowing not when to go.'

The Transcript's record in the matter of book reviewing follows the same general line of development as that of musical and dramatic interest. We have seen that in the earliest period the paper had its little daily shies at the book market, and assumed a sort of determining attitude with regard to the merits of new publications. It did not, however, have an especial book department, with an editor who devoted all his time to

the subject, until Charles E. Hurd became literary editor in 1875.

The connection, indeed, between the Transcript, from its earliest days, and the production of the literature of the day, was probably more intimate than that of any other daily newspaper then or since. A frequent coming and going must have proceeded between the Transcript office and other book publishers — for Messrs. Dutton and Wentworth were themselves, throughout their corporate career, book publishers as well as newspaper publishers. The first memorable book whose matter was first published in the Transcript was Lucius Manlius Sargent's 'Dealings with the Dead,' previously mentioned in this record, which to this day has a constant clientage in the Boston Public Library. It was a very remarkable book. It consisted of a series of articles, all published regularly in the Transcript, ostensibly written by 'The Old Sexton,' which started out to give a deal of information about funerals, mortuary customs and other matters connected with departure from this life. Strangely enough, though the subjects of these articles were generally lugubrious, the author's style, and the general tone of his writings, were not at all gloomy. His pages were often illuminated with genuine passages of humor, and little by little the articles assumed an air of chatty comment upon past affairs in Boston, in England, in ancient Rome or in Greece. They had a wide success. In 1856 the articles were gathered into a book in two volumes, called, like the articles, 'Dealings with the Dead,' and these books

in their publication illustrated the connection between the publishers of the Transcript and other Boston publishers, for they bear this mark on the title-page:

BOSTON
DUTTON & WENTWORTH
AND
TICKNOR & FIELDS.

The great publishers at the Old Corner seem to have been content in this case to play second fiddle to the publishers of the Transcript.

This book, interesting and sought after to-day, has been followed by others made up out of the columns of the Transcript. Mr. William A. Hovey's two volumes of 'Causeries,' already mentioned, were made of Transcript matter. So were Mr. J. E. Chamberlin's 'The Listener in the Town,' and 'The Listener in the Country' (1896); so were Mr. Apthorp's two volumes of musical comment, entitled 'By the Way,' Mr. Parker's 'Eighth Notes,' and much of his 'Opera Past and Present'; so was Mr. Edgett's 'Slings and Arrows.' The Transcript's comments on the literature of the day, expanding to fill many columns, and constituting a record of the whole output of American books, had by 1922 reached such dimensions as to require a special Book Section. The Transcript's first literary editor — that is, an editor whose especial province was the reviewing of books, and who did nothing else — Mr. Hurd, remained in charge of the literary department until his death in 1910. In a sense, Mr. Hurd died a

martyr to books, for his death followed a series of amputations necessitated by the fall of a dictionary on his foot. He was a most benevolent man, and early assumed the function of fairy godfather to all budding authors, and especially to young poets. It was impossible for him to deny to these aspirants either his time or his counsel. His literary judgments were calm and discriminating, but on occasion could be severe.

Mr. Hurd was succeeded by Mr. Edwin Francis Edgett, a graduate of Harvard. Under his administration not only has the Book Section been instituted, but the department has entered upon a new phase in the broadcasting over the radio of a running weekly summary and judgment of current literature, which is weekly reproduced in the Book Section.

Though editorial and critical attention to the theatres and their actors and performances was always keen, it was certainly irregular, and for the first forty years of the paper's existence was dependent on the editor's interest or caprice. After that, in the seventies, regular notes of stage productions, with news of the doings of producers and actors, began to appear, and a 'Dramatic Department' grew up. This department has taken an ever-increasing amount of space in the paper. Its attractions have gained greatly from the publication of illustrations — a thing of the twentieth century only, so far as actors, actresses, and stage scenes are concerned. Under Mr. Parker's administration the dramatic stage of the world has been faithfully mirrored.

Pictures, and the arts of the painter and sculptor,

have been rather more in the nature of an incident, in the Transcript's critical history, than a matter of leading interest. The Transcript's first impression with art criticisms was made with the notices of art matters by Mr. Ralph Adams Cram, then a budding architect and the leader of a circle of young æsthetes, in the eighteen-eighties. He wrote over the signature 'C. A. Ralph.' When architecture absorbed him, he was succeeded by Mr. William Howe Downes, a well-recognized historiographer of art in this country. Mr. Downes conducted a valuable art department for a period of more than thirty years. He has been succeeded in their turn by Mr. Harley Perkins and Mr. A. F. Cochrane. When the Transcript began to write about art, in the eighteen-eighties, there was no museum of art in the city, and exhibitions generally consisted of a few pictures on the walls of the Boston Athenæum.

CHAPTER XIX

A PERIOD OF STORM AND STRESS

The Great War and the Transcript's Part in its History — The Lively Editorship of James T. Williams, Jr.

The Tracy tragedy left another brief interregnum in the editorship, with Mr. Hazewell again temporarily in the chair. The interregnum ceased with the appointment of Mr. James T. Williams, Jr., whose position on the Washington staff of the Transcript has been noted. The proprietors, who had gone West — not directly — for an editor in the person of Mr. Tracy, now went South for another. Mr. Williams was born August 10, 1881, at Lincolnton, North Carolina. His family was South Carolinian, and his bringing up was mainly at Columbia, the capital of that State. His father had been in the Confederate Army. The younger Williams was graduated from Columbia University, in New York City, in 1901, and his first newspaper work, as noted, was done for the Columbia, South Carolina, State. That this interesting Columbian collocation helped to make of him an ardent nationalist, a distinctly one hundred per cent American, it may be too much to say; probably his subsequent experiences and connections had more to do with this development of his mind and habit. He soon went from South Carolina to Washington, where, as we have seen, he served for a time as reporter and correspondent for the Associated

Press. His dynamic temperament and telling style in writing brought him very rapid advancement. His work as the Transcript's Washington correspondent had been very successful. In all his experiences, his eager aptitude in mastering sources of political information, and the easy and competent grace of his personal address, brought him an exceptionally large circle of prominent acquaintances in public life. He became an enthusiast along the line of adherence, in administration and legislation, to traditional ideas and practices, continually holding up Washington's Farewell Address as a guide for the government of the nation. His news work was of a brilliant character, and when, at the end of 1912, he was invited to come to Boston and take editorial charge of the Transcript, he soon embarked upon a very evident course of active nationalistic expression.

Before long the paper found itself confronting the Great War. Mr. Williams's sympathies in the conflict were sincerely with the Allies, but he was always concerned with the maintenance of this country's distinctly independent and unallied position. The war is not so far away but that men and women still young can remember its tense struggles, its manifold excitements, and its sharply controverted questions of policy. Its local setting was always dramatic. The ancient calm of Boston Common gave place to a whirl of recruiting meetings; it became a crowded city of shacks and temporary buildings all in some way serving the purposes of the conflict and the Commonwealth's part in

it. The lawn was broken up to afford a demonstration of small-lot gardening, by means of which the people were taught how to produce supplies of food on every vacant lot. On the parade ground excavations were made to provide foundations for the swinging platforms upon which anti-air guns were mounted. Swarms of young men in khaki uniforms moved about, awaiting transportation to the training camps or shipment abroad. Everything showed that the country was at war. After April, 1917, it was Mr. Williams's almost daily practice to go out on the Common and address recruiting meetings. His ready eloquence, as well as his personal attractions, made him a very efficient worker in this line. It was his means of service; for although he was a young man, a loss of one of his lungs in the attack of tuberculosis which had sent him to Arizona had, although he had in great part regained his health, rendered him unacceptable for military duty.

We need to step somewhat aside from the desk of the chief editor to get the true picture of the Transcript's attitude, activities, and influence, during the war. The people then cared more for news, and for enlightenment on particular movements, than for general expressions. Two or three forms of running comment or interpretation of military or political movements attracted attention in the paper throughout the war. First of these was probably the day-to-day comment on events, which generally preceded the cable news itself, written by Mr. Frederick W. Ford, then and now the news editor of the paper. The system of introducing important news

despatches with a summary or explanation of their contents — sometimes with an interwoven thread of keen comment — was indeed a thing of Mr. Ford's initiative in the columns of the Transcript. The system is still followed. Mr. Ford has a great gift of presenting the gist of the news in these semi-editorial introductions together with a touch of expression which imparts zest to the matter. During the war, his introductions were quite well known for the element which they contained of direct thrust, known in the profession as 'punch.'

Another feature of the war work in the Transcript's columns was the weekly 'Chronicle,' written by a veteran Boston journalist, William Ralston Balch, and couched in an abrupt and piquant elliptical style, somewhat resembling that of Thomas Carlyle. Every one of Mr. Balch's weekly articles was led by some revelation of German ruthlessness — some admonition derived from examples of 'Schrecklichkeit'; and then the author proceeded with a summary of the week's worst proceedings, written in a remarkable style which deserves some embalming record here; like this, for instance, which introduces the Chronicle of the 159th week of the war, August 11, 1917:

> These seven days' fable of German humanity reiterated — and drowned above submerging submarine; assassin habit proves catching to hell dogs: 'If we must go down will make world shriek at German horrors! What matters fresh infamies added to hundreds? Our glory is infamy. Our Titan resources must be equal to endless variety of horrors.' Fable of German chivalry murdered in Hasselt Prison. Fable of German starvation — Germans vehemently deny existence of

starvation — died on Engelsburg pastures, pastures of angel mountain! Four fables proved plain lies these seven days; every seven days to come more fables to vanish until there is a vanishing Deutschland ueber Alles — the great idea unrealized.

The rest of Mr. Balch's page contained pointed bits of expression, fragments of verse, and various other gleams of the war's intensity, all strongly anti-German. Mr. Balch was a most energetic propagandist for the Allies' cause.

Still another feature of the paper's war articles that attracted attention was its column, published on the editorial page, entitled 'Over There,' edited by the writer of this history, which consisted largely of extracts from letters from soldiers in the field and of incidents gathered from other sources connected with their service in France. Some of these personal sidelights on the soldiers' lives were of poignant interest, and may afford material for future study of the psychology of the Great War.

The keenest controversial interest in connection with the war did not arise until the actual conflict was over. Then, in connection with the peace settlement and President Wilson's visit to Paris and the negotiations at Versailles, the Transcript, by the hand of Mr. Williams, began to speak out in pronounced opposition to the League of Nations idea. Mr. Williams — and in this he was seconded by other influences in the paper's control — most sincerely believed that the degree of adherence to European interests which President Wil-

son proposed in the creation of the League threatened a compromise of the interests of the United States. Mr. Williams called the Covenant of the League of Nations 'the evil thing with the holy name.' He opposed the Wilson proposition at every step. He kept in touch with statesmen who were resisting acceptance of the Covenant. He spoke in public on the subject before many club meetings and other gatherings. He was never lacking in the quality of aggressiveness. And he certainly never deviated from the intensely nationalistic position which he had early taken up.

The Transcript was distinctly the war paper of the time in Boston, and in the controversies which attended and followed the Armistice and the sessions of the Peace Conference at Versailles it took a leading part. In general, it supported the position taken by Senator Lodge, although it had not waited for his leadership in the criticism of the Wilson policy of international intermixture and participation in the League of Nations. Much bitter warfare it waged against the administration in the last days of the Wilson struggle to bring the country to the support of the policy of adhesion.

CHAPTER XX

ONCE MORE THE MOB

The Transcript Called upon to Assert and Sustain the Public Authority Against the Police Strike of 1919 — A Time of Hesitation Leading to Great Public Danger — Some Hours of Hoodlum Ravage and its Results.

In the mean time, the paper was performing an important service for law and order, under circumstances such as had never before arisen in the history of Boston. We have seen that the city had suffered in the past more than once from riotous demonstrations, but no conditions such as those which came on the night of the 9th of September, 1919, had ever been known. On the evening of that day eleven hundred men of the police force guarding the city 'walked out' on strike; the three hundred who remained on duty — most of them at points distant from the centre of the city, and themselves the oldest men — aided by a handful of park police, were entirely inadequate to the restraint of the mob which at once took possession of the central downtown streets, of South Boston, of the North and West Ends, and of some outlying localities. It was a mob of violent mischief-makers — half juvenile, with a thick sprinkling of sailors from United States ships in the harbor, a strong representation of miscellaneous 'toughs,' and a certain number of young men with white collars, who looked as if they ought to be somewhere else.

For half a year the police had been demanding certain privileges, ameliorations, improvement in the condition of station-houses, and the increase and adjustment of compensations. For the furtherance of their purposes, one thousand of them had, on August 19, formed themselves into a Police Union, which was at once affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The formation of this union and the joining of the Federation of Labor were in direct disobedience of an order by Police Commissioner Edwin U. Curtis — an honest, strong man, who had been mayor of the city in 1892. He positively forbade members of the police force entering any such organization. As early as the date of the formation of this union — that is to say, on August 19 — members of the police force had threatened to strike if their demands were refused, and they also threatened at that time to precipitate or cause a general strike of about eighty thousand persons in all departments of the city's service, if the Police Commissioner should discharge or suspend any man who belonged to the union. Certainly the authorities and the public had been well warned to prepare for serious trouble, for the strike threat had been headlined in the papers as early as August 19. The superior authorities of the city and State knew well that Commissioner Curtis would not tolerate the formation of the union or keep in employment any members of the force who had disobeyed him. This he had repeatedly announced. Yet the union was formed. Curtis at once discharged nineteen policemen who were the leaders in the union movement. The threatened

results followed. The Police Union demanded the discharged men's reinstatement, which was instantly refused.

So, on the evening of Tuesday, September 9, the great majority of the police force of Boston went out on strike, judiciously absenting themselves from the most prominent streets, but leaving the city, as we have seen, practically unguarded; and for hours afterward mobs marched up and down the streets, smashing plate-glass windows, plundering stores, eating at restaurants, playfully refusing to pay, and then smashing up dishes, marching out and stoning street-cars; divers persons were injured by stones and other missiles thrown; windows of street-cars were shattered; a few persons were held up and robbed, and it was reported in the press that women were abused by ruffians, though instances of this sort of violence must have been few. The city was the prey of hoodlum ravage, and the general helplessness of the citizens was conspicuous. Commissioner Curtis, late in August, had participated in the organization of a force of special or volunteer police, in conjunction with the heads of several business organizations, but this movement was to so little purpose that none of these special officers were in evidence when the strike crisis came.

In the mean time, the public authority — that is, the City Hall and the State House — seemed to be in a condition of paralysis, or at least of fatal hesitation. Governor Coolidge had repeatedly stated, in deliverances to the press, that he would not interfere in any way with

the decisions or the actions of the Police Commissioner. At the State House there had been conferences between the Governor and an influential committee appointed by the Mayor, Andrew J. Peters. The members of this conference, or at least a majority of them, were in favor of a compromise with the men. Editors of the other Boston papers appeared at these conferences who favored the reinstatement of the members of the police force suspended by Commissioner Curtis. Against any such compromise Editor Williams earnestly protested, favoring energetic support of the Police Commissioner's action. Up to the very moment of the strike, the personal sentiment of Governor Coolidge had seemed to favor a compromise, for after the suspension of the officers he had telegraphed to a convention of organized labor, at Greenfield, 'I earnestly hope circumstances may arise which will cause the police officers to be reinstated,' and on September 9, before the men went out, he had written to Mayor Peters: 'If justice requires improvement in conditions of employment, I believe such improvement, or parts thereof as can be, should be made forthwith, accompanied by a statement that such additional improvements will be made at the earliest possible time and without reference to any other existing conditions in the police department.' The last sentence implies an opinion that the issue of the union should be waived. The purpose of the letter to Mayor Peters was to remind him that though the State had full authority over the organization and acts of the police department, the matter of wages, hours, and station-houses

devolved by law on the city government. But the Governor, not only then but from the outset, continually stated to all concerned that in no way would he interfere with the orders of Commissioner Curtis.

At all events, nothing was done to prevent the strike, nor was the public authority in any sense ready for it when it came. The day after the strike and the street disorder, the Governor took full and positive charge of the situation, which was then effectively saved by the energetic employment of the militia of the State, used directly in the preservation of order and the ordinary policing of the city.

From start to finish, the editorial influence of the Transcript was exercised to sustain Commissioner Curtis and to forestall all attempts at a compromise which would have waived the assertion of the duty of the police as officers of the peace to obey whatever orders were issued to them. The situation was clarified at last by a telegram of Governor Coolidge in response to an intrusive and impertinent one from Samuel Gompers, in which Mr. Coolidge said, 'There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time'; and these words subsequently made Mr. Coolidge Vice-President of the United States. In his progress to that position, and in the whole course of his career after fate, and subsequently the direct and overwhelming choice of the people, had made him President, the Transcript heartily supported him.

CHAPTER XXI

THE PAPER UP TO DATE

Mr. Henry T. Claus Becomes Editor — A Responsible Newspaper's Program, Reflecting a Century's Development in Decent Journalism — Newspapers, and the World, Better as well as Greater than in 1830.

Mr. Williams's aggressive service came to a close January 1, 1925, when he resigned to join Mr. Hearst's enterprises. His resignation was quickly followed by the appointment to the editorial chair of Mr. Henry Turner Claus, who up to that date had been the editor of the paper's School and College Department. Born at Lawrence, Massachusetts, April 6, 1885, and graduated at Tufts College in 1905, Mr. Claus had come to the paper directly from college. Ere long he was put in charge of the School and College Department. In this work he developed qualities of activity and sagacity, and made his college news and features a model for the press of the country. He is a clean-cut writer, a tireless worker, and a close thinker — liberal in action, and open-minded, though conservative in doctrine and principle. Mr. Claus has the assistance as editorial writers of Mr. William E. Brigham, Mr. J. E. Chamberlin, Mr. James Ernest King, and Mr. Frederick G. Fassett, with Mr. John Cutler as managing editor.

Mr. Claus is a useful member of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and a member of that society's committee on Schools of Journalism. Some little time ago he defined in a perfectly candid way to an inter-

viewer from the Christian Register his views as to what a paper like the Transcript should and should not print. 'Our readers are entitled,' Mr. Claus said, 'to know what is going on in the world, whether it be an international event, a local election, or a crime. We do not believe those who subscribe to the Transcript want the lurid or sordid emphasized. In other words, they prefer that we keep a true sense of values. We publish crime news, for one reason, to help society protect itself. Crime is a menace to society. We treat it from that point of view in our columns. Of course we don't sell as many papers. Yet we do not feel like riding to a great circulation on a crime wave; and if we did play up the sensational, it is doubtful if we should increase our circulation by as many as one thousand readers. When a paper devotes two pages to a sensational murder case, much other matter must be omitted. We simply prefer to print the other matter, and satisfy ourselves with publishing the salient facts of the crime. We treat crime exactly as we treat any other piece of news — a political campaign, for instance, an appropriation by Congress, or an athletic contest.'

The principle laid down in this utterance by the present editor of the Transcript shows how far the tone or governing sentiment of the paper has advanced since it was started in 1830, when the 'little Transcript' made its first start in real life by devoting its entire sheet to the Knapp murder case, to the exclusion not only of all other reading matter, but of advertisements as well. It marks an advance from the practice adopted in the

GEORGE S. MANDELL, PRESIDENT, AND
HENRY TURNER CLAUS, EDITOR

enormous local excitement attending the trial of Professor John White Webster for the murder of Dr. Parkman in 1849. We have already noted that when Webster was finally executed for this crime, the Transcript published a realistic and terrible account of the scene on the gallows. Such a description is now effectively, and legally, forbidden to newspapers, and with entire propriety. In 1849, however, the shuddering details of executions were considered an entirely legitimate feature of the news.

Indeed, there are many other indications in every issue of the paper of the present day of a moral tone which is a vast improvement over that which prevailed one hundred years ago. The improvement in the tone of the paper must reflect an improvement in the sentiment of the community for which it is printed.

Generations have come and gone since young Lynde Walter put forth his confident and hopeful prospectus. Things that have been food for one or two of these generations have been poison for the others. Causes of merit have been championed at their outset by fanatics whose ways were obnoxious to the majority of the community; clarified of the real or the imputed reproach of these unwelcomed prophets, their causes have been embraced at last by all the people. On the other hand, public sentiment has sickened of things which once it had regarded as sacred, and has rejected them utterly.

A newspaper that had been quite consistent throughout a century could scarcely have been on cordial terms with the public at any particular moment. But the

Transcript may fairly claim to have kept the faith that it declared in its first number. It has tried always to be, as it then promised to be, 'just, ingenuous, and manly.' Certainly it has not been the 'slave of popular caprice,' nor the 'dependent hireling of party favor.' It has eschewed personal attack, and the even tenor of its way has been maintained through ten dynamic decades.

The satisfactions as well at the labors of a century help it to face with confidence the problems of the years to come.

THE END

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